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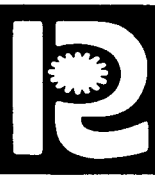

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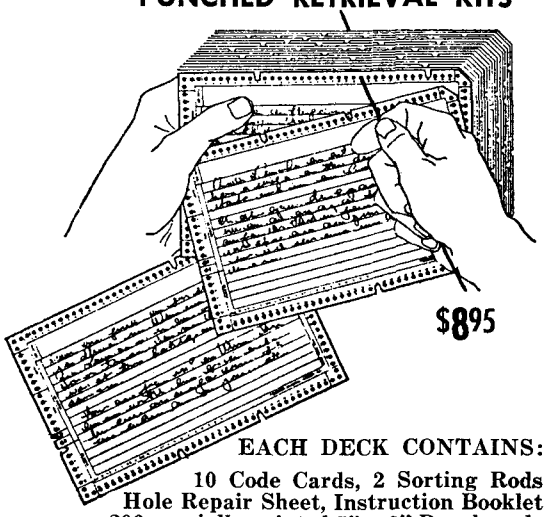

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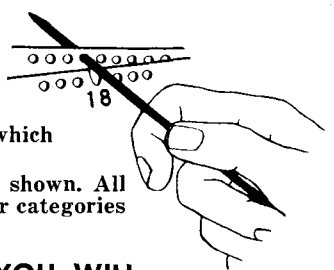

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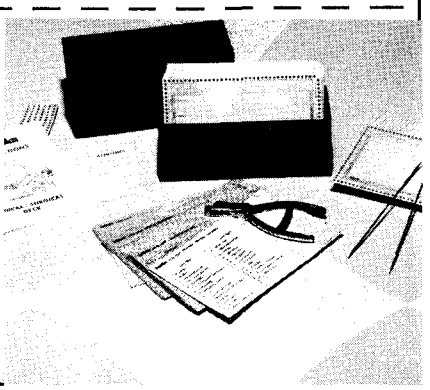

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If You Don't Mind My Saying So. . . . .

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

I am not sure that the generation gap is any wider today than it has always been. But there is a difference in the responses to it. We elders used to say, "You will think different when you are older and more mature." Today it is the young who say to us, "You are too old, too set in your ways to understand." Neither retort is likely to narrow the gap and both are to some degree condescending. But to say, "You will mature," grants the young a possible future; to say, "You are too old," is to damn us beyond the possibility of salvation.

In a recent conversation with a sophomore this vast difference was brought home to me. He relented enough to say that if I would listen to some of his Bob Dylan and Beatles records I might just possibly be able to understand why the future would recognize them as more "relevant" than Bach or Beethoven—both of which, so he insisted, he liked well enough to be sure that it was not incomprehension that led him to place them in an inferior position. The failure of comprehension was all on my side.

This is the simplest form that can be taken by the current obsession with the "now," but the conviction that there just isn't any usable past seems to be shared by a good many, including some of those who are over thirty—the figure commonly assumed by the younger generation to mark the beginning of senility. John Barth (the eccentric novelist now much esteemed by the *avant-garde* and beginning to reach the best-seller list where no *avant-garde* writer ought to be) was recently quoted in the *Chicago Review* as remarking that if Chartres Cathedral or Beethoven's Sixth were to be created today they would be "simply embarrassing."

Of course an easy reply would be that this is one sort of embarrassment neither Mr. Barth nor, so far as I know, any of our contemporaries need go in fear of. But I am less interested in being snide than in trying to understand an attitude now sufficiently widespread to have been seized upon by a number of advertisers, including those who urge you to switch from Coca-Cola to a new drink which has "the taste of now," just as every rock band now claims to have "the sound of now." When advertisers begin to catch up with the *avant-garde,* it is in danger of becoming pop art and so for that matter is any magazine that calls itself *Avant-Garde* but takes a full-page ad in the *Saturday Review* headed "Not for everyone." And then goes on to offer all of us the opportunity to become members of an elite just by sending in a coupon. "Do you like face jewels? Mohammed Ali? Edwardian haircuts? Radio? Captain Lev? Psychedelic art? Mayor Lindsay of New York for President? Grass? The Pill? Did you like Andy Warhol's films before they became popular? If you can answer yes to most of the above, you are a member of that small but influential group of pacemakers who set the cultural trend of the nation."

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ground that he just wasn't adventurous and literate as well as adult. You get as a bonus two books from a list that includes de Sade and also Forberg's ancient, learned, pedantic and dull *Manual of Classical Erotology*. One is no more likely to be rejected by the Underground Book Club than to be blackballed by the National Geographic Society. Incidentally, I don't know why a taste for erotica is supposed to be confined to the mature. I thoroughly appreciated Montaigne's "On Some Verses of Virgil" when, as a preteen-ager, I discovered it by accident in the local library. But it was not until I became what *I* call mature that I found Montaigne's other essays equally interesting.

Those of us who are not only over thirty but over sixty as well still take it for granted that there are some things that are "not for a day but for all time" and we would put Chartres and Beethoven's Sixth in that class. To say that neither could be created today is one thing. To say that it would be "embarrassing" if they could be is quite another. That is equivalent to saying that they have lost all "relevance"—to use another word that belongs, along with "identity" and "existential," in a list of those now likely to serve chiefly to conceal thought. But if the whole business of the artist is to express the spirit of his time and if the spirit of our time dismisses everything except the "now," then it must be obvious that those who sought eternal values are merely embarrassing. Probably that is why perversions of classics like the play *Rosencrantz and Gildenstern Are Dead* (to say nothing of the British Broadcasting Company's "Alice in Wonderland" and a more recent "Cinderella") have been highly praised. They destroy a supposed permanent work of art and free us from embarrassment by demonstrating the hollowness of what the past regarded as valid.

I am not sure whether we are supposed to believe that today's "now" will be "simply embarrassing" tomorrow or whether, having got rid of the past, we have for the first time achieved something that will endure. Will those now under thirty be ossified as soon as they pass that climacteric or is it only the old men of the past and present who are not to be trusted? An answer to the first part of that question seems to be implied in the *Saturday Review* where the rock-and-roll critic (yes, there really is such a thing) writes in the issue for May 31, 1969: "Rock has muddled around for several months, and while there has been enough jamming around and back-to-the-roots exploration, there has been no real breakthrough for quite some time." Obviously the implication is that music is expected to "make a breakthrough" at least every few months if it is not to become what Mr. Barth calls "embarrassing."

One thing is certain. The justification offered by most previous *avant-gardes* from Dada on is not now so unhesitatingly offered. It used to be said that destruction would make way for a more glorious future in art as well as in life. But the tendency nowadays seems to offer nothing but a future increasingly disorganized. A few months ago a group described as composed of one hundred "competent intellectuals" assembled in New York to discuss the question, "The end of the rationalist tradition?" which most of the intellectuals seemed to regard as hardly worth putting in question form. Said Robert Lowell, "The world is absolutely out of control now, and it is not going to be saved by reason or unreason." And if that is merely despairing, Leslie Fiedler had a positive program. "Reason, although dead, holds us with an embrace that looks like a lover's embrace but turns out to be *rigor mortis*. Unless we are necrophiles, we'd better let go." For encouragement I might offer him a voice from the embarrassing past. "There is a pleasure sure in being mad which only madmen know." But I shall have to apply to Norman Mailer for an explanation of his statement that "We are heading for a conclusion that consists of Joe Namath grinning hungrily over the line at Earl Morrall."

Sometimes I wonder if I may just possibly be as wrong as it seems obvious to

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many that I am. Am I as insensitive as my sophomore friend believes when I cannot follow a professional music critic who assures me that the Beatles are the beginning of "a new and golden renaissance of song" and who compares their compositions with "the great eras of song such as that of Monteverdi, Schumann and Poulenc"? Or when Miss Susan Sontag, who is a very "now" critic (or at least was six months ago), tells me that a film that includes "close-ups of limp penises and bouncing breasts . . . shots of masturbation and oral sensuality" is "a beautiful film" and that "an esthetic vision of the world" is "perhaps always homosexual"? Or when an art critic assures me that "the fantastic, the strange, the singular or the hitherto unknown perspectives—these are today the only kinds of representation which we accept as the identification mark of a modern artist whose work will genuinely touch us"? Is anarchy in all the arts and on all the campuses really the necessary prelude to a glorious future? Is my belief that what we need is more reason, not less, merely necrophilia?

The only reassurance I have now is that these doubts are very much like those I went through almost forty years ago when nearly every social and literary critic found almost all previous writing as embarrassing as Mr. Barth says he would find a present-day Chartres or Sixth Symphony. "Art is a weapon," so the most radical proclaimed. "Its only meaning is its social criticisms," as the more moderate preferred to put it. Then also there was a theater of the absurd which flourished off Broadway as it now flourishes again and in forms (including audience participation) almost indistinguishable from those now described as unmistakably "now." Only the aged can remember what were then such key ideas as Remy de Gourmont's "dissociation of ideas," Eugene Jolas' "revolution of the word," and the French decadents' confusion of the five senses, one with another. It all gives me very much the sense of a *déjà vu*. Is there really anything new since Dada and shouldn't we find its resuscitation embarrassing? Until recently revived, what was most unmistakably "now" in the 1930s is for the most part as dead as the dodo, while the writers that generation condemned to oblivion are still around—at least to the extent that they have to be destroyed all over again.

Shaw's *Man and Superman* was the first contemporary work that persuaded me to think of myself as a modern. Have I, I now wonder, become a Roebuck Ramsden? It was he, as I should remind my juniors, who once boasted to John Tanner, "I was an advanced thinker before you were born," and got for an answer, "I knew it must have been a long time ago."

The usual excuse for praising the obscene, the violent and the sadistic in literature seems to be that by listening to those who "tell it like it is" we come to understand the total corruption of our world and to revolt against it. But Anthony Burgess in his "London Letter" to the SCHOLAR (Spring, 1968) seems to champion a pure aestheticism like that of Susan Sontag. Pornography, he says, is a form of didacticism and the didactic is the opposite of the artistic no matter what it teaches. "Where *Last Exit to Brooklyn* [which I have not read] possibly fails as good art is in its arousal of social conscience. We observe the plight of people living in a slough of degradation, and we want to do something about it. We experience pity-and-terror, and we want to discharge that Aristotelian emotion in an act of charity or compassion. The book is overdidactic, then, rather than pornographic."

In the London Sunday *Times* (whose *Literary Supplement* used to be an organ of the most respectable academic establishment) Mr. Burgess has more recently hailed a best-selling American work as "The first great novel of masturbation"—which, so I suppose, implies that it did not encourage the activity so called but provided instead a purely contemplative or aesthetic reaction. Just how a great novel could possibly be written on that subject or how rewarding a field for aesthetic experience it could possibly provide, I am too "yesterday" rather than "now" to understand. Moreover, I cling to the conviction that litera-

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ture not only tells things like they are but influences to some extent what that way is. If, as La Rochefoucauld said, few would ever have fallen in love if it were not for poetry, then art is likely to have a didactic effect even if it is unintended. I suspect that fewer people would make a perfect orgasm the Holy Grail they go in search of if it had not so often appeared as such in contemporary literature.

That a man past his mid-seventies should believe the world is in a bad way and getting worse will surprise no one. Such as he have very commonly believed just that. But sometimes (if only by accident) they have been right, and I am inclined to believe that I am one of such.

Is there, I sometimes ask myself, some impulse that unifies all the seemingly diverse tendencies in modern life: the creation of more and more powerful weapons of destruction; the poisoning of the very air we breathe; the search for the absurd in art and the preference for the antinovel and the antihero; the insistence that man himself is not human but mechanical; and, finally, the rejection of reason itself? All are destructive of something once important and confirm the impression that destruction is, in fact, the essence of the now. Are they all part of a process which one of the most old-fashioned of poets had in mind when he wrote:

She comes! She comes! the sable Throne behold
Of *Night* Primaeval, and of *Chaos* old!
Before her, *Fancy's* gilded clouds decay,
And all its varying Rain-bows die away.
Wit shoots in vain its momentary fires,
The meteor drops, and in a flash expires.

. . . . . .

Thus at her felt approach, and secret might,
Art after *Art* goes out, and all is Night.

. . . . . .

Religion blushing veils her sacred fires,
And unawares *Morality* expires.

. . . . . .

Thy hand, great Anarch! Lets the curtain fall;
And Universal Darkness buries All.

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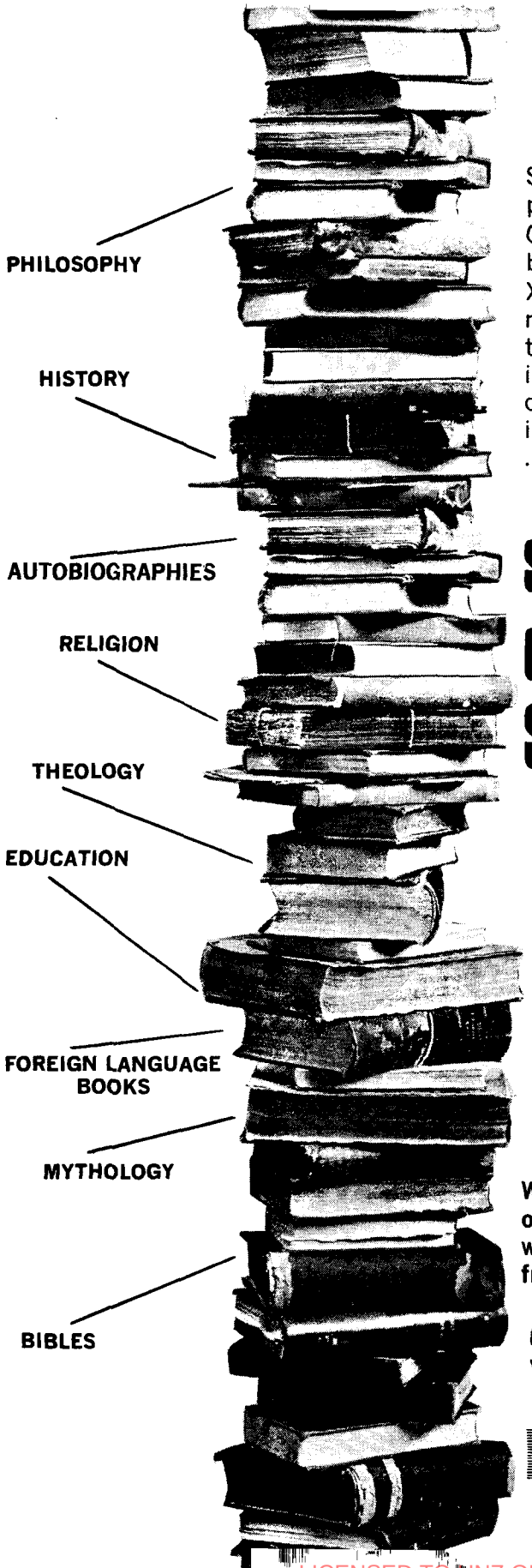

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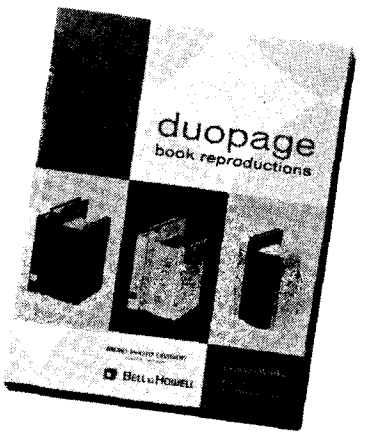

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Protest—Past and Present

J. BRONOWSKI

THE TITLE OF THIS ESSAY is meant as a reminder that protest is not a new invention of the 1960s—and this whether we think it a divine invention or a satanic one. On the contrary, protest has always been the normal apparatus to initiate change in human societies. Whenever we say of some historic pioneer that he was *original,* we imply that he was at odds with the traditional view of his time, and that he ultimately persuaded others to his view by voicing his dissent.

This is most obvious in the sciences which, from Galileo to Albert Einstein, have always had to question the established explanations and replace them by new ones. So one reason for the growth of heterodoxy has no doubt been the spread of scientific education. Yet the same march of innovation, the same process of dissent and challenge, is evident in other intellectual fields: for example, in the arts and in philosophy. It has been equally important in politics and social reform; there could have been no American Revolution and no French Revolution without such unorthodox men as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson and Voltaire.

Lest that remark be passed over lightly, I pause to recall that I speak as an Englishman to what George III would have called a parcel of rebels—that is, an audience of Americans. You are a republic today because your forefathers were impatient of social wrongs, what they called "a long train of abuses and usurpations," and revolted against them in 1776. This country was made by political dissenters and, even before that, by religious dissenters. Unlike most of you, I am not a Christian either: so it is fair that I remind you also that you would not be what you are if Christ

✪ J. BRONOWSKI, a senior fellow and trustee of the Salk Institute for Biological Studies in San Diego, California, gave this address last June to a conference on "A Search for the Meaning of the Generation Gap," of the San Diego County Department of Education.

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had submitted to the religious authority of his elders—or if Luther had done so later. It is a sobering lesson in history that millions of people who dislike the contemporary forms of protest still call themselves *Protestants*.

Progress by dissent then is characteristic of human societies. It has been responsible for the growth and success of democracy in the last four hundred years, and the decline and failure of absolute forms of government. For the crucial feature of democracy is not simply that the majority rules, but that *the minority is free to persuade people* to come over to its side and make a new majority. Of course, the minority is abused at first—Socrates was, and so was Charles Darwin. But the strength of democracy is that the dissident minority is not silenced; on the contrary, it is the business of the minority to convert the majority; and this is how a democratic society invigorates and renews itself in change as no totalitarian society can.

Finally, it is natural that all through history the protesters have belonged to the younger generation, and the defenders of tradition have been the older men. This is one reason why dissent has usually come from the centers of learning, and has often begun as an intellectual movement before it became a popular one. It was so, for example, in the time of Erasmus, and again in the decades of ferment that preceded the Russian Revolution. There are several new factors that underline this tendency today to which I shall point later.

We see in general that protest is the age-old instrument for human progress. Yet when this has been said to link past to present, it remains evident that there are also differences, and that protest today has some features that are special and contemporary.

One feature that is peculiar to America is that the movement of dissent here is greatly occupied with getting justice and equality for racial minorities. I shall refer to this important aim again, but I shall not speak about it much, because I cannot do so at first hand. I am a newcomer to this country; my experience is almost wholly in European universities; and I shall therefore concentrate on those aspects of student dissent that American universities share with European universities.

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The striking and universal feature in the protest of the young all over the world is that *it is not doctrinal.* We have been used in the past to associate new movements with some specific dogma: with women's suffrage, or socialism, or land reform, or even National Socialism. There are no such ideological cure-alls in the minds of students today. Certainly they dislike the existing organizations of government pressure and social conformity, and they want them replaced by something more egalitarian, more personal, less rigid and manipulating. But the very fact that the students' protest runs across the existing political boundaries, from Berkeley to Warsaw, and from Prague to Paris and London, shows that there is no ideology that they think will solve the problems of the world overnight. The young now do not expect to reform society by a ready-made program with the points numbered from 1 to 14.

In particular, it is wide of the mark to think that dissent in this country is inspired by communism. Most students now find that idea laughable: they consider communism in East Europe to be a mechanical and dictatorial system of state that is as repugnant to them as any other autocracy. Otherwise, why would the universities in Poland have made their remarkable protests in 1968? The Polish establishment called those demonstrations a capitalist plot, of course, and that makes a neat match to the fears of our establishment. But the students in Poland and Czechoslovakia are not rooting for capitalism, and the students in the West are not rooting for communism; they are united in *rejecting both establishments.*

It is easy to be scornful of all this, and to say that the students' lack of dogma is an impractical and romantic approach to changing the world. Indeed it is: the heroic pictures of Mao and of Che Guevara on the walls of dormitories show that. It may even be called negative and, worse, a purely destructive approach. But these easy criticisms miss what is crucial in the outlook of the young now, and new. They are not merely criticizing the systems of state in which their elders live, either east or west of the Berlin wall. They are criticizing the *systems of values* by which their elders live everywhere.

So the students' protest is not doctrinal because it goes much deeper: it is concerned with ethics. In the past there was a simple

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difference between the generations, all the way from politics to sports: the old were usually in favor of the status quo and the young were usually in favor of change. But simple differences like these, simple labels like conservative and liberal, will no longer do now. Now the difference between the generations is a total difference in posture—a rejection by each of the norms by which the other lives.

The generation gap is now a moral chasm, across which the young stare at their elders with distrust, convinced that the values that make for success are fakes. Evidently the first field in which young people are struck by this suspicion is public life, and there the undeclared war in Vietnam has had a disastrous impact. Who indeed could have believed that, twenty-five years after Pearl Harbor, national policy would be carried on like this?

Young people would like to be proud of their own nation (that, after all, is what the students from the minorities exemplify) and they were shocked to find that they could not be proud of the policy of America and her allies in Asia. This was coupled with a second shock, when they found that they could not be proud of the weapons and methods with which the war was waged.

But the greatest shock of all to the idealism of the young is the way in which official spokesmen manipulate and even hoodwink the public opinion that they are supposed to lead. A whole apparatus of evasion has been developed in which nothing is an outright lie, and yet nothing quite means what it seems to say. The very words are unreal: de-escalation, ultimate deterrent, agonizing reappraisal—a tasteless vocabulary of plastic which George Orwell prophetically called Newspeak.

Plainly this language is not designed to *state* a policy but to *sell* it, and accordingly it is tailored to each audience in turn: the patriots here, the realists there, and the credulous everywhere. No wonder that students on both sides of the Iron Curtain think that politics is a career for actors rather than principals. This state of affairs has become so notorious in some countries that it has been christened with a euphemism all its own: it is called the credibility gap. That politely evasive phrase describes what is the fundamental outrage to democracy, namely, the concealment of knowl

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edge; and more than anything else (I believe) this has been responsible for sapping the trust of the young in public standards.

It would be comforting if we could stop there and say, yes, some men in high places have disappointed the young, but after all they have their parents and teachers to look up to still. Unhappily, it is just here that the generation gap is different now from what it was thirty years ago. I can speak for this from my own experience, and I will do so.

I was brought up in Europe in an orthodox Jewish household. My father was a devout believer, who was meticulous to the point of obsession in the practice of every detail of his religious faith. By the time that I went to college I no longer shared his beliefs, which seemed to me an anachronism. But I did not doubt for a moment that my father was sincere in what he believed and practiced. No one, not even the mutinous son that I was, could have thought my father a hypocrite. And as I respected him, so he respected me—in spite of my skepticism. My father thought me a hothead, but he did not doubt that I was sincere, too.

Today the generation gap cleaves through families and colleges, and there is little respect left in it. I need not trouble to spell out for you what the fathers think—and worse still, the grandfathers: they are the ones who write to the papers with such venom every day. Yet I must not quite neglect the phenomenon of those letters to the newspapers. Here we are in the country that prizes education more than any other country in the world; and in that country, here we are in the state of California, which prizes education more than any other state. And yet exactly here the correspondence columns are filled with such hatred against the young, such hysterical fear of change, that one cannot imagine how the writers picture a university. Do they expect education to run backward? Do they think that there can be progress without originality, and originality without dissent? Or would they really like to burn heretics?

Perhaps senior citizens always felt like this, and their grandsons paid no attention. But now the same gap has opened between fathers and sons. Whatever the generation, the sons no longer believe that the standards by which their elders judge them are genuine; on the contrary, they strike them for the most part as bald

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hypocrisy. I knew that my father lived by the precepts that he tried to impose on me. But most students today are convinced that their parents and teachers deceive themselves, and profess a traditional set of principles without even being aware that they do not live by them. In the eyes of the children, the generation gap now is a hypocrisy gap.

If those whom the young stigmatize were all reactionaries and anti-intellectuals, it would be easy to concur. Unfortunately, things are not so simple. A whole generation of liberals and humanists, to which I belong, is bewildered at the discovery that the young include us in their charge of hypocrisy. We made liberalism respectable by our labors, and turned it into an intellectual faith; and now we are distressed to find that our heroic memories of the hungry thirties and the Spanish Civil War are dismissed as an out-of-date mythology.

The fact is that we, the generation of intellectuals, have been a success, and our liberal and even radical ideas have not stood in our way on the road to affluence. And the young are suspicious of affluence: they do not believe that success comes so cheap to those who hold their principles dear. Success is a commodity sold on television in shatterproof bottles at bargain prices, and the children are no longer impressed by those trappings of authenticity. They know in their hearts that the successful man is a prisoner of the status quo, whatever high principles he may avow in the family circle or on the rostrum.

When the French historian La Popelinière died in obscurity in 1608, his biographer wrote that he had died "of a disease common to men of learning and virtue, that is, of misery and of want." But that was in the past. Now men of learning fare much better, and their sons and students are correspondingly less certain of their virtue.

So it is not to be wondered that the young are restive when they hear us pay lip-service to intellectual truth. For in the thirty years in which we have preached that, the world has changed, and we have somehow forgotten to find new foundations for the old truths. The economic exploitation and social inequality of thirty years ago have been transformed since then, and will no longer do

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as grounds for the human and liberal morality in which we still believe—and believe rightly. As intellectuals, we have done little to formulate afresh *an ethic of liberalism on foundations that are modern* and valid now. In my view, this is the central criticism that can be directed against intellectuals today, in and out of the universities.

Here I must pause in my argument to say something about the practical discontents in the universities. For, of course, there are direct and practical causes that turn the moral scruples of students into the bitter hand-to-hand clashes with campus authority. Three causes are specifically modern, and illustrate how education now differs from the past—even the past of thirty years ago.

First, there are vastly more students now than there have ever been before. There are about seven million students in America at this moment, which is more than went to college in the whole world in all the hundred years of the last century. What students in these numbers want from university education must be different in kind from the academic programs of the past. So we are now engaged by necessity in the experiment of finding a core curriculum and a culture to embody the aspirations of mass democracy. This is the cardinal problem to which I shall come back at the end of this essay. The demands of the minority groups for higher education are one part of the problem we have to solve. But the problem is the same for the majority, and is worldwide: what is the central content of contemporary knowledge that every young man and woman (and not just a few) ought to have in order to feel and act as educated citizens?

Second, young people now become physically and emotionally mature almost two years earlier than they did in the past. Yet while the age of biological maturity has fallen steadily, the age of university education has remained almost unchanged. As a result, the campuses are now peopled by grown men and women, yet are governed by traditions of organization and discipline that were made for adolescents. No wonder that the parents who remember themselves as striplings at college are outraged by the beards and the bosoms that they see there now—and by the intransigence that is natural in the bearded and the bosomed, especially when they

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have to be treated as children. The university system as it is, historically, is two years out of step with the attitudes and emotions of contemporary students, and is only suited to the young who are now in high school.

And third, the trouble on campus is a microcosm that reflects the troubles of administration and organization that dog any mass democracy. I have already said that democracy is a very special philosophy. It expresses the mind of the majority, yet it gives the minority the right to try to change the mind of the majority. That is, democracy is an instrument for change and progress.

But to make that philosophy work, democracy has to have an administration that is receptive to change. It has to be sensitive to what people want *before* they break the rules. And this is where organizations of state and government are failing us, and where most seriously the campus administrations are failing the students. I have been an administrator myself and I know the temptations. There is always some piece of business in the office that seems more urgent than the complaints of people. So the awkward issues are postponed; the grievances accumulate; and we stumble from crisis to crisis, never acting until the strike notices have been posted and people's blood is up. We never tackle a frontier dispute until there is shooting; a labor demand until the garbage is piled high in the streets; and the restlessness of the young until they invade the president's office.

The trouble on campus has a tremendous message: that we must discover how to run mass democracy so that things are changed *before* people get mad. In an age of technology, of constant practical change, this is a practical message to shake the world. Because if we do not get this right, then the process of peaceful change will break down, and people will turn to violence and minority rule everywhere. The trouble on campus is a storm signal to warn us that the philosophy of democracy will only survive if we reform the *practice* of democracy.

Yet when these practical things have been said, the intellectual problem comes back to meet us. We need to find a philosophical foundation for the ethics of democracy that the young can believe in. What divides democracy from its enemies is not a dogmatic

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distinction as between good and bad, your faith and mine, but is the basic distinction between tolerance and fanaticism—between persuasion and violence. When the students turn to disruption and hooliganism they show that our generation has failed to make the liberal values real to them. Instead we have demonstrated to them in a dozen political precedents, all the way from Ireland to Israel, that only men with guns get their demands. And calling out the National Guard will only reinforce that ugly lesson.

The young are looking for a universal ethic now as much as in the past, and here as much as in Czechoslovakia. If they strike you as amoral, look again: they are in search of a morality that shall be idealistic and realistic at the same time. And if we think we have it in humanism, we shall have to find modern foundations for that.

It is pointless to exhort students to law and order, and to lecture them about rights and duties, in the absence of any foundation for human respect—and worse, in an atmosphere of cynicism that claims that human nature is a caged beast. Law and order are not ends in themselves; they are the means that society has invented to preserve justice, which is the harmony between individual freedom and communal need. Since only man among the animals is both individual and social, he has constantly to re-create the balance between these two sides of his nature. What we have to ask then of people, young and old alike, is not blankly that they respect the law, but that they respect every man as a man (whatever his opinions or his social function). And to bring that about, we have to make a modern analysis of the nature of man, derived from the natural and social sciences and equally from its expression in the arts. Only so shall we establish for everyone that the identity of man demands respect as an essential and, as it were, an existential condition of his being.

This is in a sense an academic program, and none the worse for that; and the universities are to be blamed for failing to attempt it. In a time of bold technical progress and of brilliant scientific discovery, one might have expected that humanists in the universities would also be eager to move into new fields, and that the study of the ethical nature of man would be most attractive to them. After all, many of the protesting students are suspicious of

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science and disillusioned by it, and are ready to look to the humanities for a lead. But in fact the departments of humanities have done little to move away from their traditional studies and toward the ethical content of their own subject matter. And yet that is surely what the arts can teach: the sense of identity with the inner lives of all men.

It is particularly sad that philosophy has remained remote from any genuine inquiry into the human mind and the dilemmas of personality. At a time when young men hunger for principles to guide their lives, philosophy has been preoccupied with forms of analysis in which, it rightly assures them, there surely are none to be found. So for thirty years now no philosopher has commanded, or has aspired to, that combination of intellectual and moral respect which made Bertrand Russell a giant in his generation.

I believe that there are principles to be found today to guide human conduct, as there were in the past. Today they must come out of modern knowledge of what makes us the creatures that we are, specifically human. We do not know the whole answer to that, of course, and no doubt we never will; but we know more than we ever did in the past. And what we know is not exclusively in science, and not exclusively in the humanities, but is a combination of both in which each illuminates the other. Only in this way, by understanding as exactly and as sympathetically as we can what men are, can we make the generations (past and present) agree to try to be what men should be.

In my view, this is a very practical task: for an agreed ethic must be based on a common culture, and a common culture must be expressed in what is taught in schools and universities. The great need, the great experiment in education now is therefore to put together a core curriculum for all students, whose parts truly represent the constituents of modern culture. I think there should be three parts: science, anthropology (as representative of social study) and literature.

In science, students need in the first place to learn enough physics, chemistry and mathematics (including some statistics) to make a foundation for biology in its contemporary form. As soon

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as they have the foundation, they should go on to biology as the central science in the core curriculum. The accent in biology should be on evolution: the evolution of life, of molecular structures and processes, of organs, of species and their behavior, and in the end, of man. The purpose should be to build up a picture of man as he is by nature, within the order of nature: what I have called elsewhere "an understanding of the evolution and the place of man" as a single conception. I will go on to quote what I said there:

He is, like the other primates, noisy, inquisitive, cooperative, intelligent, skillful, thoughtful, and as busy with himself as with his environment. These features are not common in the rest of the animal world, singly or in combination. They have been a great deal more important in the evolution of the primates than the territorial imperative and the aggressive drives which we share with other animals. And in the remarkable order of primates, the evolution of man is most remarkable and spectacular. His gifts of discrimination and judgment, the ability to speak, to remember, to foresee, to imagine and to think symbolically, his carriage and the freedom that it gives to hands and face, his face-to-face relations and his way of making love, his family life and the intimacy of his social values, are an incomparable biological equipment. They have evolved him, and in turn have been evolved by his own progress, within at most a few million years. From them he has his creative skill and his imaginative breadth of outlook, in which are intertwined his need for the society of others and his urge to think for himself.

As the second leg in what I will call my tripos curriculum, I have chosen anthropology. I prefer it to other branches of social study in a core curriculum, because I think students should not be preoccupied only with the forms of social institutions (including government) but should unravel the underlying beliefs and values that those express. Anthropology is the best discipline for the study of values, not as arbitary social norms, but as expressions of human aims. In this sense, it carries on the scientific purpose of my first leg, and I can go on with my quotation:

It goes without saying that the picture of man that science presents to a bewildered and downcast public must be truthful. But that does not mean that it turns him either into a beast or into a computer. On the contrary, what makes the biological machinery of man so powerful is that it modifies his actions through his imagination: it makes him

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able to symbolize, to project himself into the consequences of his acts, to conceptualize his plans, and to weigh them one against another as a system of values. We are the creatures who have to create values in order to elucidate our own conduct and to learn from it so that we can direct it into the future.

For the third leg of my tripos I propose literature as the most accessible representative of the arts. The arts are important in the curriculum because they *express* the human condition directly, and as powerfully as the sciences *expound* it. Literature in particular should give the student a sense of the immediacy of human problems, an open door into the minds and passions of men, within which he finds himself to be both singular and universal. The gift of imagination makes man able to live his own life and a thousand others, and to draw from that network of experience a central concept of himself that can be a better guide to conduct than any book of moral precepts. Since I have presented these views in *The Identity of Man* I need not argue them here; I think they leave no doubt that literature can be as important a constituent in founding a modern ethic as can the sciences of biology and anthropology.

The need for a modern ethic of this kind, securely founded, is patent: because precisely the lack of it has turned the movements of protest toward self-righteousness and violence. Otherwise we are simply on the way to confronting dogma with dogma, force with ferocity, my right with your wrong. But these do not constitute the real division in human conduct. The fundamental distinction is between liberal and bigot, and at bottom it is the distinction between human and inhuman. At the base of any educational reform, this is the distinction for which we have to find a secure, contemporary, and universal foundation.

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The Assoc. Professor (Mad Scientist) To (His Love) His Student in Physics 100 Lab

MILLER WILLIAMS

What you have to know
F=MA
is what you have to know

a slow truck can break you
quick
as a fast brick

two that want love a little will lay
more likely than one
wanting love a lot

if God is anything more than simply not
he has only barely to be
so capital is the G

and you
if you turn your head
can
as a matter of course
dismiss my class

if you turned your body and
smiled
immorally illegally
I wonder
what could I do
with such a sudden force
with such a mass

MILLER WILLIAMS, editor of the *New Orleans Review*, teaches at Loyola University, New Orleans. His books of verse are *So Long at the Fair*, his most recent, *A Circle of Stone* and *Recital*.

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Black Studies: An Intellectual Crisis

JOHN W. BLASSINGAME

IT IS PRESUMPTUOUS OF ANYONE to pretend to speak authoritatively on such a new development as black studies. At the end of a year fraught with the armed occupation of campus buildings and racial riots among students, I may rightfully be assigned to the camp of the foolhardy for attempting to speak on the rapidly escalating demands for increased attention to black people.

Black studies is such an emotionally loaded concept that most universities have had great difficulty in establishing programs. First of all, colleges started considering such programs at a time when the Negro community is furiously debating its place in American society. This, in itself, is not new. Generally, however, this is the first time that whites have seriously considered the debate worth noting. Consequently, they are often overwhelmed by the force of the demands, confused by the rhetoric, and unsure of the legitimate intellectual response.

The first problem that one encounters in surveying black studies programs around the country is the confusion over objectives. In fact, most people who write these proposals never include objectives, goals or the justification for such programs. Instead, such ambiguous terms as "need," "demand," "relevance," or "such a program needs no justification" are used. It is inconceivable that any other kind of program could be established with so little thought being given to long-range goals. When I have asked college teachers around the country why they are establishing black studies, the usual answer has been that the black students demand them. When I ask black students what are the goals of Afro-American studies, I often get a blank stare. In one committee meeting on black studies at a university in Washington, D.C., a Negro student demanded that thirty new courses be offered next year and a

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black studies department be created. When a faculty member asked what the objectives of the department would be, the student replied, "How do you expect me, a freshman, to know?" and stormed out of the conference room.

There is often great confusion over objectives and contradictory patterns in the programs. Reacting to student demands for "relevance," a number of colleges have combined social service concepts with traditional academic pursuits. In spite of the fact that neither students nor faculty know what the students mean by "relevance," some effort is made to give students some contact with, or skills they can ostensibly carry back to, the black community. Few of them try to find out what the black community thinks is "relevant" to its needs. Then, too, such an objective clearly reveals other inconsistencies in goals. Although established at predominantly white universities apparently for all students, no consideration is given to the "relevance" of the programs to the white community. Of course, some blacks and whites argue that such programs are intended solely for Negro students.

Black students have demanded that black studies, above all else, should be "relevant" to their needs. As far as one can determine, the programs are supposed to give them pride, a sense of personal worth, and the tools for restructuring society. The attempts to fulfill the last objective are often the most confusing and contradictory aspects of the programs. Rarely is there much thought about what is needed to restructure society. Many students apparently forget that it is still true that the first requirement in any struggle is to know your enemy. What blacks need more than anything else is much more sophisticated knowledge about American society. It is not enough to know that "whitey" has been, and is, oppressing blacks; most Negroes do not have to go to college to learn that. Instead, Negroes must study business practices, high finance, labor law and practices, judicial procedures, consumer practices and the communications media.

Armed with this knowledge, blacks would know which of the interlocking corporations to boycott or buy stock in to bring about meaningful change in their economic position. Knowledge of labor unions may enable blacks to break down the almost invulnerable conspiracy to prevent blacks from earning a living that is

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based on the tripod of nepotism, political corruption, and prejudice. With serious study we may learn that injunctions, boycotts, campaigns for open shops in union states, government-operated apprenticeship programs, application of conspiracy laws, and other devices may force the unions to loosen their stranglehold on the black worker. While a study of the law may convince us that it is a device for oppression of the poor, we may find enough loopholes in it to afford some degree of protection to the weak. Investigation of law enforcement practices may permit Americans to regain civilian control over our quasi-military, autonomous police. A clearer understanding of the communications media may enable us not only to increase black representation in the publishing, radio, television and advertising fields, but to change white attitudes toward blacks and to create a more favorable image of blacks in the communications media. These are the things that are most "relevant" to the black community.

For many white colleges, faced with the demand to lower admission standards to take in more black students, black studies represents a "soft" program that these students can pass. While I believe that it is criminal for any college to admit poorly prepared students without establishing academic support programs to help them, I do not think there is any predominantly white college that has the experience or the will to do this. If they are serious in their endeavors to establish academic support programs for poorly prepared students, they will have to turn for advice to predominantly Negro colleges, which have had a great deal more experience in this area. Even so, a program that lacks academic respectability is of no use at all to black students and is certainly irrelevant to the black community.

The reasoning behind many of the black studies programs is more sinister than I have indicated. It is clear that in many cases predominantly white schools have deliberately organized ill-conceived programs because they are intended solely for Negro students. In short, a number of institutions are not seriously committed to Afro-American studies. Some professors at one of the leading universities in the country will approve, without question, any proposal for black studies because they say "it's only for the niggers." At a time when most traditional departments in state

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universities find it difficult to operate on a million dollar annual budget, black studies programs are established with a budget of less than a quarter of a million dollars to use for teaching personnel *and* a plethora of community action programs. Many colleges are not seriously committed to black studies because they feel the demand will die out shortly. Consequently, rather than setting aside university funds to establish the programs, they turn to foundations for support. This, of course, is not conducive to long-term planning. As our experience with Latin American studies reveals, the cycle of foundation interest in such programs is, at most, ten years. The cycle for black studies, I predict, will be even shorter. The foundation money is likely to dry up very quickly when Mao Tse-tung perfects his intercontinental ballistic missile—then, we will embark on Chinese studies.

The lack of commitment extends beyond inadequate financial support to far more serious realms. The most serious is the elimination of any required standards for teachers. While I accept many of the complaints against the traditional academic degrees, it is clear that Urban League officials and local black preachers are not, in very many cases, prepared to teach the college level courses in black studies that they have been assigned. Similarly, while I share the general arrogance of college teachers who feel they can teach anything in their general field, it is too late for most of us to retool quickly to teach topics we have ignored for twenty and thirty years. Yet, because of the lack of commitment and the urgent demand, many colleges are hiring all manner of people to teach black-oriented courses, especially if they are black. Social workers, graduate students who have just embarked on their graduate careers, high school teachers, principals, and practically anyone who looks black or has mentioned Negroes in an article, book or seminar paper are hired to teach Afro-American courses.

These poorly prepared teachers are hired in some cases to discredit the whole program. Given such teachers and in the face of such designs, black and white students are justified in running the teachers out of the classrooms as they have done in many cases.

Generally, Negro students have demanded that black instructors teach black-oriented courses. In many ways I sympathize with them. Having faced unprepared white teachers who have

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sometimes had to get their reading lists from the black students and who have not learned that Negro is spelled with an "e" instead of an "i," the black students are skeptical. Besides, they reason, it was the white scholar who, by his writing and teaching, made the Negro the "invisible man" of American scholarship. It is certainly asking a lot to expect one to accept cheerfully a man who has continuously embezzled from him his pride, culture, history and manhood for more than four hundred years.

In spite of these considerations, the black students often go too far. All white teachers are not racists. I submit that some of them have more "soul" than some blacks. "Blackness," in all its shades, represents no mystical guarantee of an "understanding" of the black man's problems, life or culture. Neither color nor earnestness but training must be the test applied to any teacher. Since many black students suffer from contact earlier with poorly trained teachers, it is more of a disservice to them than to white students to add more ill-prepared instructors at the last stage of their education. Yet, in their fervor to find black teachers, Negro students ignore the possible crippling effects of hiring simply *any* black man. They have often suggested teachers whom no administrator, regardless of his designs, could accept. For example, a group of black students in one college suggested that a Negro graduate student who had not completed a year of graduate study be hired to teach a Negro history course. Upon investigation, it was discovered that the student in question had already flunked out of graduate school during the first semester.

The black students, however, must be applauded for forcing predominantly white colleges to come to grips with their discriminatory hiring practices. Still, the revolution in this area will fall short if Negro students only demand black teachers for black-oriented subjects. Instead, they must broaden their demands into other areas. How many blacks do we have teaching mathematics, biology, engineering or law at predominantly white schools? Faculty desegregation must expand into these areas if the black scholar is not to end up in an intellectual straitjacket where he is restricted to black-oriented subjects.

The threat to black intellectuals is real. Not only do the black students demand that the teachers in black studies programs be

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Negroes, they also want them to have the right shade of "blackness." In essence, this means that the black scholar must have the right ideological leanings. As some of us succumb to the persuasive arguments to hop on the treadmill and try to keep up with the mercurial changes in the black "party line," serious scholarship is likely to suffer. It is in this regard that the control of black studies programs by black students is most dangerous. Black scholars being considered for positions in these programs must not only gain the approval by the faculty of their academic credentials, they must also kowtow to the black students. On one occasion a friend of mine, after receiving faculty approval of his appointment at one college, was required to pay obeisance to the black students. Flamboyant by nature, he went home, donned flowing African robes, returned, wowed the students and received the appointment. The case of another black scholar was more tragic. After being approved by the faculty, he went before the black students to prove his ideological fitness. When he opened his remarks to them by pointing out that he had a white wife, the students rejected him. In spite of his qualifications he was not hired.

I do not mean to imply by the preceding remarks that I reject student involvement in decisions that affect their lives. On the contrary, I feel that we must do much more in this direction. In no case, however, should student control go so far as to restrict the intellectual freedom of the scholar. Even if one wants to push "black realism," this is not the way to do it. Black intellectuals have worked so long and hard in their fight against the white intellectual establishment, often publishing their own books when white publishers rejected them because they were unorthodox, that they do not want manumission from their white masters only to be enslaved by black masters. In short, while we support student involvement, we reject it for black studies until the same degree of student control is extended to other areas.

Often, when the Negro scholar escapes the ideological snare of the black students, he faces the almost equally dangerous trap of being overworked by his white colleagues. Frequently, because he is one of few blacks on the faculty, presidents and deans use him as a flying troubleshooter to defang militant students. Inevitably, he is appointed to every committee that is related in

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any way to Negroes (and the list of them seems limitless). Then, too, the Negro scholar is expected to serve as father-confessor, counselor, success model, substitute parent, general dispenser of pablum to overwrought black students, and all-around authority on the "Negro problem." Consequently, the Negro scholar finds himself more overworked than when he taught fifteen hours a week in a predominantly Negro school. The danger in all of this is that black scholars may find that they have almost no time for research and writing. Few students and administrators realize that by requiring an inordinate amount of work from black scholars they are seriously crippling them in their efforts to find out more about the black experience.

Few students seem to realize that their demands for black faculty are causing raids of major proportions on the faculties of Negro colleges. Of course, some students have insisted that their schools raid only other white colleges. The impact of the current raiding practices (and they are likely to increase) on the Negro colleges is not clear. On the one hand, predominantly white colleges are finding that it is not easy to entice Negro faculty away from places they have been for several years. Many black professors disdain the offers because they do not feel the predominantly white colleges will follow through later on promotions. Others argue that they were told to go and teach "their people" ten years ago and to hell with the white schools that have suddenly discovered them. Where were they ten years ago when they were really needed? Many black professors refuse the offers because they realize that their white colleagues will not respect their academic credentials.

In spite of all the hue and cry from black college administrators, the raids have had a salutary effect on the position of the black faculty member. Deans are suddenly discovering that they can add $5,000 to an instructor's salary at the same time that they cut his teaching load by six hours. Since he is now the rarest gem in the academic marketplace, the black teacher is rapidly approaching parity with his white colleagues in the perquisites of the profession. In many cases, black administrators have used the raiding as a lever to pry more money out of reluctant state legislatures for teaching salaries.

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The demands of black students for separate, autonomous black studies departments, separate social centers and dormitories have been a godsend to white racists engulfed by the liberal wave of the last ten years. Ivy League Ku Klux Klansmen applaud and vigorously support such demands. The immediate capitulation of white colleges to such demands is understandable: they support their traditional beliefs and practices. Take Harvard, for example. When a Negro graduate of Harvard, Roscoe Conkling Bruce, tried to reserve a room in the freshman dormitory for his son in 1923, President A. Lawrence Lowell refused the request. He wrote Bruce:

> I am sorry to have to tell you that in the freshman halls we have felt from the beginning the necessity of excluding Negroes. I am sure you will understand why we have thought it impossible to compel the two races to live together.

In April of the same year the Board of Overseers of Harvard voted unanimously that "men of the white and Negro races shall not be compelled to live together."

By endorsing the shibboleths of "self-determination," many white intellectuals are really supporting a recrudescence of "separate but equal" facilities. In this regard, black students can appreciably close the generation gap by asking their parents what separate facilities mean in practice. Few of them have forgotten that a separate railroad car meant uncomfortable, dilapidated, filthy, rarely cleaned cars where black women were insulted by drunken white hooligans. Separate residential areas meant, and still do mean, unventilated, rarely heated, overcrowded, unpainted apartments with high rents, few city services, consistent violation of housing codes by unfeeling landlords who go unpunished by city officials, and black men and women dying of tuberculosis and in firetraps, and black babies dying from rat bites.

When it has been possible for whites to give Negroes separate educational facilities, this has been done with enthusiasm. The result has always been disastrous. Separate facilities have never been equal. It is incomprehensible that black students can trust what they call the "white power structure" to provide separate but equal facilities at the same time that the current administration,

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as conservative as it is, has found that several Southern states are still offering separate but unequal education to blacks and whites. The evidence of this is overwhelming. A cursory check of state expenditures to black and white colleges supports the charge. How can blacks receive an equal education in Florida when the state expenditures for white colleges were twenty-seven times larger than appropriations for Negro colleges in 1963? For those who eschew research, an on-the-site investigation would be instructive. Who can compare the small cinderblock buildings of Southern University in New Orleans with the shiny, commodious brick buildings of Louisiana State University right down the street and believe that separate facilities can be equal?

Are predominantly white colleges any more justified in bowing to the demand of black students for separate social facilities and black roommates than they are for bowing to the same demands of white students? The answer is an unequivocal no. Instead, they must react the way Columbia University did in 1924 when a group of white students threatened to leave a dormitory because a Negro student was admitted. Dean Hawkes spoke for the faculty when he asserted: "If any student finds his surroundings uncongenial, there is no need for him to stay in Farnald Hall or anywhere else at the University."

I understand the very persuasive arguments of many black students that they need these separate facilities for emotional reinforcement. I sympathize with them but reject their argument. I have read too many autobiographies of black men who studied at white institutions when racism was much more violently overt and when they were much more deprived educationally and culturally than any of these students are, to accept their facile arguments. Often the lone student at Yale, Harvard, Oberlin, Iowa State and other colleges, these men succeeded in spite of the lack of organized programs of emotional reinforcement.

A number of predominantly white colleges have not only utilized black studies to set up separate social facilities for blacks, they have also organized all-black classes for their Negro students. When the black students at a California college complained that they were being used as resource persons in a "Racism in America" course, a separate all-black section was established with a

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black psychologist as the teacher. The reaction of the students to the course was mixed. One group told me that it was a great course because the teacher required no reading; allegedly, since all of the blacks understood white racism, they simply met and "rapped" with each other. The more astute students described the course as a "bull session" where everybody "got down on whitey."

While some California schools have retrograded further than most colleges, many of the others are not far behind. Even when these programs have been open to all students, the belligerent attitudes of the black students have often scared white students away. To the historian all of this is reminiscent of the treatment of black students when many white schools were first desegregated. Many contemporary black students are in these colleges because earlier black men were not even allowed in the classroom with their white classmates when they desegregated white colleges. Is it fair to the memory of men like this for black students to turn their college educations into "bull sessions" that they could have had without going to college?

Inadvertently, the white colleges are reinforcing the growth of apartheid in America, denying black and white students the opportunity to learn to understand all people, and approving the denial of social equality to Negroes. America's predominantly white colleges can follow one of two paths. The current separatist ideologies fostered by black studies plans can only lead to more Negro students feeling like one black Columbia University student who wrote in 1967: "I feel compelled to announce the fact that Columbia College will never be integrated. If half, or even three-quarters of the College population were black, there would still exist two separate and basically unrelated student communities . . ." Another student at Columbia indicated the other direction. He asserted that at Columbia, "Acutely aware of the white-problem-in-America as I am, as prejudiced toward my own people as I am, I have still found individuals—not black—whom I can respect, admire, and even love."

I realize that any new program may initially encounter many problems. Those that I outlined above, however, can be avoided. The Negro community has too much at stake—its very existence —for the college community, again, to miss an opportunity to be-

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gin to end the centuries of neglect and repression of blacks in America. Black studies is too serious an intellectual sphere, has too many exciting possibilities of finally liberating the racially shackled American mind, for intellectuals to shirk their responsibility to organize academically respectable programs. This possibility of curricular innovation must not be used to establish totally different programs, segregated entirely from traditional schemes. Instead, we must take advantage of this opportunity to enrich the educational experiences of all students and teach them to think and to understand more clearly the problems of their age. While we may make our admissions procedures more logical in an effort to find more Negro students, they must be required, whether in black studies or in any other program, to meet the requirements that all other students must meet to graduate. The black community has suffered too much already from the "Negro degrees" given to us in the past by predominantly white colleges.

I do not mean to imply by the remarks made above that the growing maze of black studies programs has been developed only for sinister reasons. In all probability most of the individuals establishing and supporting them have been sincere. But goaded by the emotional demands of black students and pushed by a growing sense of guilt at having fiddled while America burned, many white intellectuals have organized instant programs of little worth. Characteristically, intellectuals, frustrated by their inactive lives, often want to propose fuzzy plans for the immediate eradication of ills. In this instance they have been hamstrung by two things. On the one hand, the guilt they feel for having contributed to the perpetuation of racism in America causes them to clutch frantically at any straw that may atone for their sins. On the other, they are forced by the masterful rhetorical play on this guilt by black students to accept the most far-reaching and often unworkable plans for a total restructuring of American society. The key to the dilemma is the rhetoric of the black students.

Adopting the classic political technique of demanding more than one is willing to accept, black students discovered very quickly that white intellectuals actually believed that their demands were nonnegotiable. Consequently, white intellectuals have established programs that are, in many instances, practically closed to white

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students, are soothing to their consciences because they seek to provide services to the black community that only the state can provide, are organized and controlled by students, are contrary to the logical pattern of existing programs, are based solely on emotional rather than intellectual needs, are designed to perpetuate the white myth that Negroes cannot compete on an equal basis, are suited to contemporary problems rather than equipping students to propose new solutions to the ever-changing nature of proscriptions against blacks in America, and permit Negroes to learn about themselves at the expense of knowledge about the larger American society with which they must battle. Such programs represent poor preparation indeed for black men who must survive in a white society.

The most serious effect of student rhetoric on black studies programs is undoubtedly the white acceptance of the demand for combining community action, academic and counseling programs. I agree with the students that the university cannot fulfill its *raison d'être* by ignoring community needs. Similarly, I feel that some students, in the best tradition of Rousseau, should have firsthand knowledge of the community in which they live. To provide this through community action programs is, of course, an enormous undertaking. A few years ago when Howard University officials adopted a community action program for the Washington census tract with the worst social problems, they found that the $400,000 they invested in the program made little impact. The problems encountered in our mini-war on poverty are also instructive in this regard. The poverty program with its well-meaning, paternalistic, relatively well-financed activities has not only in many cases been less than beneficial, but has often been positively destructive, to the black community. In light of the desire of blacks to "do their own thing," how are we to react to another series of paternalistic programs directed by people in the so-called "white power structure"?

Such programs can, of course, be highly successful. First, however, they must be much more carefully planned than most of those I have seen. One gets the vague impression upon reading many of the proposals that a horde of idealistic black, and maybe white, students are going to be let loose on the black community.

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Black men and women have played in this scene many times before. Nothing could be more self-defeating. A few weeks ago I watched a team of young, highly committed, but wholly undirected VISTA workers unintentionally insult blacks in their first public contact with them in a small rural Louisiana community. In light of the tensions in urban areas, community action programs must be well organized, carefully planned, and amply funded. They must, in addition, involve community leaders in the initial planning stages of the programs.

One question that apparently never arises in connection with this aspect of black studies proposals is how much community involvement students actually want. Are contemporary students *that* different from those of my own generation? Do they really have that much time after studying? In many cases investigation has shown that at the same time that students demand more community action programs they rarely participate in those that the colleges have already established.

While the lack of serious thought behind many of these programs can be hidden by skipping over objectives and using glittering generalities in regard to the community action arm, all of the confusion, guilt and sinister designs are revealed in the list of courses. All of the proposals begin by hiding the colleges' sins behind grandiose claims about the number of black-oriented or related courses they already offer. Many of these are often very tangentially related to blacks under the broadest conception possible. The revelations about the nature of the programs, however, are in the new courses. I realize the variations on a black theme may be endless, but I am frankly amazed as I read the list of some new courses. While it may be possible to teach a course on the "Afro-American on the Frontier," I have serious doubts about the course proposed for one black studies program entitled "The Sociology of Black Sports." And although we have done very little research on the Negro family, it may be possible to teach a course on the subject. But can we, as one college proposes, offer one course on "The Black Family in the Urban Environment" and another one on "The Black Family in the Rural Environment"? What in the world is the course proposed in a California state college entitled "Relevant Recreation in the Ghetto"? This same school must have

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had a deeply disturbed home economist on its black studies committee, for it also proposed that one of the relevant courses for the Afro-American program should be "The Selection and Preparation of Soul Food."

That delectable tidbit indicates clearly the slim intellectual base of many programs. Even when the programs have not been this shallow, they have often been planned with little thought of what is going on in the American educational establishment. The contemporary revolution in public school textbooks, the burgeoning summer institutes, and rapid changes in public school offerings are bound to catch up with many college-level black studies programs in the next few years. The number of courses one takes is irrelevant if the reading list and general information are the same as that one received in high school. After all, the thrill of hearing Crispus Attucks praised in the first grade, rediscovered in the eighth, revived in the twelfth, and finally "evaluated" in college is just as deadening as our annual peregrinations with Columbus. Dry rot is already surfacing in some programs. Some students find that the "Introductory Seminar in Afro-American Studies" often exhausts the books and articles the teachers in their other courses are able to find. Strangely enough, the reading list for the "Sociology of Race Relations" is often identical to the one for "The Afro-American in American History." The toleration level of students for this kind of shallowness is understandably low.

While all of the problems I have indicated place black studies in serious jeopardy, they are not insurmountable. To overcome these obstacles we have to plot new courses for black studies. First, the programs should be rationally organized, fitted into the total pattern of university offerings, be directed to the needs of all students, amply funded, and as intellectually respectable as any other college program. The same qualifications should be required of teachers, the same work of students, and there should be clearly stated objectives, as there are in other academic programs. Community action programs must be separated from academic programs and adequately financed, staffed and truly related to community needs. Finally, if any of these programs is to succeed, we must break out of our airtight cage of guilt and emotionalism to the open arena where we can establish a meaningful dialogue on black studies.

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Black Studies at Harvard

Personal Reflections Concerning Recent Events

HENRY ROSOVSKY

THE UNIVERSITIES OF AMERICA are in crisis, and some people even speak of a revolution. We know also that university turmoil extends beyond the United States, and that turmoil extends beyond the universities. Recently a very high Washington official told me, "There is a crisis of authority in the entire world," and he may be right. For the past few years, I have had a certain involvement in university crises, and some of my experiences may be of interest to people inside and outside of the academy. Obviously, "crisis of authority," student rebellion, and generation gap, *et cetera,* cover too much ground to be dealt with in a brief article. I plan to deal instead with something much more specific—black or Afro-American studies—but as the reader will see it is an excellent sample of our range of difficulties.

Let me begin by explaining my own involvement with Afro-American studies. I came to Harvard in 1965 (from Berkeley) and shortly thereafter became chairman of the admissions committee of the economics department. Our task was to select incoming graduate students. In doing this job I quickly learned a number of things. Our department admitted a relatively large number of foreign students from less developed countries on a kind of "implicit quota" system. By this I mean two things: if students had been selected simply on the basis of formal academic qualifications, far fewer individuals from underdeveloped countries would have gained admission; furthermore, we somehow

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recognized our social obligations toward the less developed world and set aside certain places for these students. Another thing that became clear was that we had almost no black American graduate students. (A subsequent survey revealed that out of a total enrollment of over three thousand, there were about twenty black graduate students in the entire Graduate School of Arts and Sciences.)

In my opinion this was an absurd situation. If we had social obligations to foreigners, clearly we had at least equally urgent obligations toward American Negroes—sometimes described as foreigners in our own midst. Together with some friends, I began, some two years ago, a program of agitation at high administrative levels of Harvard University for special graduate fellowships reserved for black students. The rationale behind this move is important: we believed that there existed in this country qualified Negro applicants; that they would have to be recruited; and that while some might require special help—the way a good many foreign students did—by the time these black students received advanced degrees they would be able to compete on equal terms with everybody else. We also shared the firm belief that there was no better way to cut the vicious circle of black academic frustration: the only way to get more black professors is to get more black graduate students.

Meanwhile, in the real world, the American tragedy was rolling on. In April, 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King was murdered in Memphis and riots occurred throughout the land. And nearly everywhere black students assumed more militant attitudes. Universities frequently responded in rather traditional fashion by establishing committees to study the problems and needs of black students. In May of 1968 I became chairman of the Harvard committee charged with this mission, and in January, 1969, we issued a report urging the university to adopt a wide-ranging program in support of Afro-American studies, graduate fellowships for black students, and other programs of interest to the black student community at Harvard.

It is important to understand the concerns of black undergraduates that led directly to the creation of our committee and of similar committees elsewhere. These concerns fell, and still fall,

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into two broad categories: the quality of black student life, and Afro-American or black studies.

Issues relating to the quality of black student life are hard to define in any concise manner, but there does appear to be a consensus on certain important items. The quality of life is not "good" since it is difficult to be black in a predominantly white environment where one is frequently patronized or rejected. There is also a strong feeling of guilt about being "here" when your people are suffering in a ghetto. This leads to demands for "relevance," meaning the type of instruction and research specifically directed toward improving the lot of blacks in this country, together with an intellectual effort toward ending "racism." There is, too, a strongly stated desire for the possibility of "privacy"—a privacy into which the black student can withdraw, be with his own ethnic group, and reinforce his sense of culture and identity. (Our report attempted to take care of this need by the recommendation to create a social center for black students along the lines of Hillel House or Newman Clubs.)

People who are not black cannot very well argue about the quality of black student life. In some sense it must be as stated by black people themselves, although we should always keep in mind that they speak with many voices. Afro-American studies, however, is a different matter. It is an academic subject, it concerns black and white students and teachers, and it is not at all clear who possesses the necessary expertise to guide this new field from infancy to maturity.

I should now say something about my perception of the rationale underlying Afro-American studies. First of all, it seems to me true that the social sciences and the humanities have treated the American Negro in rather offhand fashion. His literature is not commonly studied in universities, and his music is welcome on the dance floor but not in the classroom. The particular social, political and economic problems of American Negroes received—until recently—only tangential attention. To put it in another way, the traditional disciplines have not provided an atmosphere in which subject matter directly related to black Americans has flourished.

All this is fully recognized by black students, and they bitterly

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resent the existing situation. To them it implies a negative judgment by a racist society on their culture and their achievements, and also illustrates society's lack of concern with the vital problems of twenty-five million of its citizens.

One more significant academic point should be understood. For Afro-American studies to be a legitimate field does not have to mean that it is a discipline working around a relatively unified body of theoretical reasoning or presuppositions. This would be true of relatively few fields studied in universities: physics, mathematics and economics can lay claim to a basic theoretical framework, but English, history and Romance languages cannot do so. Afro-American studies falls into the latter category, and this need in no sense be a major disadvantage. The advantages that are surrendered when sophisticated theory is missing can frequently be recovered through the creation of an interdisciplinary community of intellectual interests. It has happened with good results in the past, and more recently in the development of area studies. Now this process should be repeated with black studies; the task, though, is more urgent.

Let me now turn to the work of the Harvard Committee on African and Afro-American Studies and to the report that this committee produced.* As I have already said, we worked for nearly a year and most intensively for six months: we worked with many black students, and two black student representatives participated in all of our deliberations. These two had been offered voting membership in our planning committee, but they preferred to remain in the capacity of active and vocal observers. We worked in a calm and rational atmosphere and finally issued a report that gained national and international approval, and that was in its

* It should be noted that, at least at Harvard, *African* studies never became a subject of controversy. The report said, "Afro-American and African Studies are two very different fields. The former is a new field and for the immediate future will remain primarily concerned with issues of definition, content, and expansion. By contrast, African Studies is an established field within general regional studies, and it should surprise no one that Harvard has a long and distinguished history in this branch of learning . . . African Studies at Harvard—unlike Afro-American Studies—has had the advantage of satisfactory and congenial growth within established disciplines. It would be foolish to give up these advantages now. . ." To my knowledge, no one ever took exception to these statements. See Harvard University, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, *Report of the Faculty Committee on African and Afro-American Studies,* Cambridge, Mass., Jan. 20, 1969, pp. 19, 26.

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entirety adopted by the Faculty of Arts and Sciences in early February of this year. We recommended an expensive and broadly based program consisting of the creation of a social center, a research center, graduate scholarships, and a combined undergraduate major in Afro-American studies.* Most of this is pretty simple and requires little amplification. One of our recommendations, however—that relating to the Afro-American studies major —has turned out to be extremely controversial. And since the Harvard faculty within less than two months decided fundamentally to amend our proposal, I think that it might be useful for me to go into our thinking in somewhat greater detail. I will initially confine myself to the development of my position.

I believed that learning and research—especially in a long neglected area and new field—would have a high payoff, but I also believed that, in designing learning and research activities, experience would be of great importance. In other words, I saw the need for trained intellects to grapple with a new and challenging subject matter.

I believed also that especially in a new field it was important to maintain standards and the usual checks and balances. This should not be interpreted as educational conservatism; rather, it represented a strong desire for academic excellence from the beginning so that first-class minds could be drawn into the new venture—first-class black and white minds.

I understood that black students had a role to play in the development of Afro-American studies. They were remarkably well informed and intensely interested. But I was not willing to say that their competence was "unique" or that it exceeded that of faculty members or outside experts. They knew what it meant to be black—and most of us did not†—but the creation of a program in Afro-American studies was directly related to learning and research, and here I felt that I knew more and could not abdicate or delegate final responsibility. Ideally I visualized an active consultative role for students in general (white and black)

* In Harvard parlance, a *combined* major consists of two major fields—say, history and classics. In this case it meant Afro-American studies and any other standard concentration in the social sciences or the humanities.

† One faculty member of our committee was black.

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and hoped that this would set an example for other and more established fields.

Finally, I believed strongly that Harvard undergraduates should be prepared to go on to graduate school; that is where the large majority of Harvard students go, and this option must be kept open in all majors. It seemed particularly important to encourage more black students to do postgraduate work; and those interested in Afro-American matters were equally needed in graduate schools. Both types of students had opportunities to assume key positions of intellectual and social leadership. To me this meant that Afro-American studies must start as a combined major, so that the student who gets this bachelor's degree has minimum competence in an established field in which graduate work is offered.

Some black students did not at all like the emphasis on established fields. They conceived of Afro-American studies almost as a professional subject primarily designed to produce community leaders. These students wanted to "return to their communities" immediately after college, and saw no need to be prepared for advanced degrees. Perhaps this is the way they will lead their lives, but it is equally likely that some of these ideas are merely freshman and sophomore rhetoric. Certainly the black community needs leaders, and students are a natural source of supply. But a graduate degree in a sorely needed skill—such as economics—does not dilute one's communal leadership qualities.

Most of my colleagues on what came to be known as the "Rosovsky Committee" must have believed in the four principles outlined above, because they were incorporated in our final report, which the faculty accepted. We recommended the creation of a Faculty Committee on Afro-American Studies and not a department, because we felt that this would provide greater flexibility to bring in academic and nonacademic talent as needed. We recommended, as a beginning, a combined major. We placed students on a personnel search committee so that they could have a voice in suggesting names, and we urged that they be given places on the main committee for certain "specific purposes." But, in presenting our findings to the faculty, we also said, ". . . that in our educational recommendations all academic procedures are

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observed. No recommendation has been made which in any way goes counter to our long established review procedures or lines of authority."

When our report appeared in January, there were professors at Harvard and members of the public who thought that our entire effort represented simply an attempt to achieve a political accommodation. They doubted the soundness of our intellectual rationale and the validity of our principles. One can argue about these things, but the charge of "politics" is quite beyond me. Since the 1940s the United States has poured many millions of dollars into Russian and Chinese studies. Is this because our society had suddenly developed a passion for Tolstoi, Dostoevski and/or Ming vases? Or is it that we faced certain national needs in which the help of the universities was essential? If this is the meaning of political motivation, Afro-American studies undoubtedly fits the bill. At the same time, I would conclude that more political activity of this type would be highly desirable.

In January, spokesmen for the black students praised the report and declared themselves satisfied. Even the Harvard *Crimson* had a kind word for us! But I must add that some black students were certainly not satisfied. We had worked with a rather large sample of Harvard's black student population, and I suppose that they represented the more moderate strains of opinion. There were more militant students who must have felt that we had sold them a lot of nothing, and within the black student community there existed the makings of a power struggle.

One must now stand back in some astonishment and ask: what happened last April to lead to radical changes at Harvard? This is not an easy question to deal with, but there can be no doubt that such changes have, in fact, taken place vis-a-vis Afro-American studies. As a consequence of a faculty amendment of April 22 (voted by a plurality of about one hundred), the committee recommended by us will quickly become a department. In the meantime, six students will be placed on the committee charged with the job of designing the department, with three of the students elected by the Association of African and Afro-American Students, a student political organization without open membership. All the student members will vote on tenure and term appointments and

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other matters, and some of them will join the executive committee of the department when it is formed. Finally, the combined Afro-American major has been abandoned in favor of a "standard" major. In effect, black undergraduate students have been given powers hitherto held only by Harvard *senior faculty* and denied to junior faculty, graduate students and nonblack undergraduates.

For reasons that must be clear by now I do not agree with these changes, but I could live with them if I believed that they represented mature intellectual convictions. But, as I review the events of April, 1969, I must regretfully conclude that they represent nothing of the kind. To me the very sudden change of direction—after just two months—suggests the occurrence of an academic Munich. What happened? The answer is: plenty.

An important element undoubtedly was the occupation on April 9, primarily by white students, of University Hall and the subsequent calling of the police. A few days later the Harvard faculty adopted something close to "a plague on both your houses" attitude and, what may be more important, it *reaffirmed* and strengthened a previous vote urging the administration to remove academic credit from R.O.T.C. In the atmosphere prevailing on the campus at that time, this reaffirmation, I think, amounted to partial endorsement of direct student action.

Another element is that a new and militant leadership suddenly emerged in A.A.A.A.S. (Association of African and Afro-American Students). Now there was talk of the university's violation of the "spirit of the Rosovsky report," but I think that the new leadership never liked the balance of the report anyway, and as I attempted to explain to the faculty in a twenty-minute speech, no violation had taken place, unless by "spirit" one simply meant satisfying black students.* What was the alleged violation? It was claimed that there had not—in the recent past—been sufficient faculty-student consultation. Also, some potential concentrators

* A sympathetic friend sent me a copy of Gustave Le Bon's *The Crowd* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969). Unfortunately it arrived only after I had prepared my speech. The following passage (written in 1895) catches the mood of a good many faculty meetings: "Given to exaggeration in its feelings, a crowd is only impressed by excessive sentiments. An orator wishing to move a crowd must make an abusive use of violent affirmations. To exaggerate, to affirm, to resort to repetitions, and never to attempt to prove anything by reasoning are methods of argument well known to speakers at public meetings." (p. 45). See also pp. 27-29.

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in Afro-American studies did not approve of the initial prospectus for the combined major handed out on April 9. (A most unfortunate date: University Hall had just been seized.) But whether they liked it or not is irrelevant. The important point is that at all times we had strictly abided by our mandate, and no violations —spiritual or otherwise—had occurred. And on this matter I consider myself at least as expert as anyone else at Harvard!*

The new black student leadership was encouraged by the spirit of the times, and by the mindless acceptance of anything they said by the leaders of the student strike who, for obvious political purposes, wanted to have A.A.A.A.S. on their side. The time seemed ripe to present the Faculty of Arts and Sciences with an ultimatum —and that is exactly what happened. When the black students presented their demands at the faculty meeting of April 22, the leader of their group—Mr. Griffin—said three things that have remained strongly imprinted on my mind. Last week, he said, we had the chance to disrupt the University, and we didn't. I know, he said, that you will all vote for our proposal because you are honorable gentlemen. And lastly, he said, "Not to pass this resolution is a serious mistake . . . it would be a mistake from which this University might not be able to recover." The acting dean also told us that the A.A.A.A.S. resolution should not be amended; the black students wanted us to treat it on a take-it-or-leave-it basis, although in the end two friendly amendments were accepted. On that Tuesday, also, the campus was rife with anxious rumors. Faculty members were standing twenty-four-hour guard at Widener Library, people were worried about the safety of paintings in the Fogg Museum, and the shadow of Cornell was spreading to Cambridge, Massachusetts. I do not see how the faculty vote of April 22 can be interpreted as anything else but action in the face of threats.

* In our report we said, "The most feasible way to make . . . a degree [in Afro-American Studies] possible for . . . [the] class [of 1972] may be to conceive the program as a combination of Afro-American Studies and an existing concentration. The Committee would offer colloquia and possibly tutorials and arrange in conjunction with existing concentrations for the evaluation of students in these combined programs. We emphasize that this is not necessarily the final form the undergraduate degree program will have. The Committee will make recommendations based on its experience and the ideas introduced by new members of the Faculty." *Report of the Faculty Committee . . .*, p. 17. This is exactly what was being done in April. In February it was fine; now it constituted a betrayal.

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That action was taken *in the face of threats* is beyond dispute. Obviously, this does not mean that all members of the faculty who voted in favor of the A.A.A.A.S. proposal did so because they were afraid. Although I consider vague fear to have been an important explanatory factor, there were also other reasons. What follows is necessarily speculative, but there can be no harm in frankly stating my opinion.

I believe that many nontenure members voted for the radical proposal because they were generally more sympathetic and identified with white and black student demands. They also were not averse to backing any step opposed by the administration and some of the more conservative senior faculty. After all, "if the old bastards oppose the black demands, we might as well back them."

Then there was also the peculiar attitude of some physical scientists. I will never forget a conversation with a famous Harvard scientist who told me that the Afro proposal was just fine for their area of study, and he would vote for it with enthusiasm. He added that, of course, "this sort of thing would never work" in his own department. When I was bold enough to ask for an explanation, he pointed out to me that science possessed a "pyramid of knowledge." If this miraculous structure existed in one's field of learning, "the apex had to control the base"; we must assume that outside of physical science a different geometrical model applies. Perhaps he was thinking in terms of an inverted pyramid.

Certain individual members of the faculty closely associated with the effort to initiate Afro-American studies also contributed to overturning the original format of the program. For example, the Afro motion was presented by a member of the defunct Rosovsky Committee and seconded by a member of the successor Faculty Committee on Afro-American Studies. Of course, their actions had a great impact, but that does not make it any easier to explain. Perhaps they really believed that a betrayal had occurred; more likely they felt that at this juncture communications and goodwill had to be reestablished at any cost. Whatever the reasons, it appears to me obvious that their stand at this time was basically inconsistent with the educational philosophy that we had espoused only a little while ago.

I have not exhausted the possible listing of motivations. Un-

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doubtedly some faculty members were entirely sincere and believed that they were simply riding the wave of the future. Quite a few may have been simply confused. Many were bearing the heavy burdens of liberal guilt. No one will ever be certain or be able to reconstruct these events with complete accuracy.

What can be concluded from all this? On the academic side I remain convinced of the wisdom of my initial position. I fear that our recent action will harm Afro-American studies and that it may ultimately hinder the progress of black people in this country. I could be wrong, but the threat of direct action is not a convincing counterargument.

I believe also that we have created—in unseemly haste—a dubious precedent. White students will claim, and have every right to claim, the same participation privileges as blacks, and one wonders how the faculty will be prepared to treat these issues.

Most of all, I regret that we saw fit to make such fundamental changes so quickly and in the face of threats. I do not blame the black students. I do blame the white faculty. The greatness of Harvard is not contained in the irreplaceable Widener catalogue or in the precious paintings of the Fogg Museum. It is contained in the minds of the men of every generation acting according to their inner convictions after careful study of an issue. In this sense we have all been diminished by the events of last spring.

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Politics as the Art of the Impossible

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN

I TAKE FOR MY THEME a sentence from Georges Bernanos: "The worst, the most corrupting of lies are problems poorly stated."

My charge is similar. It is that much of the intense difficulty of our time is in nature conceptual, and that it arises from a massive misstatement of our problems. Intellectuals, if this view is correct, have done their work badly and there is little prospect that their mistakes will soon be undone. As ours was perhaps the first society consistently to expect the future to be better than the past, the apprehension that we may have profoundly mistaken the nature of our difficulties, so that we must expect years of effort to resolve the wrong problems and in presumedly unavailing ways, strikes with special force. A certain nostalgia arises for a future that now appears lost. It becomes necessary to live much more in the present than has been the American mode.

If this be no great pleasure, it can, nonetheless, be stimulating. Here a sub-theme can be taken from another alert Frenchman—when asked what he had done during The Terror, the Abbé Sieyès answered, "*J'ai vécu.*" "I survived." This must now be a very great concern of those Americans whose lives, in Midge Decter's formulation, are devoted to the direction of their thought. Anyone old enough to have had any intellectual contact with the 1930s will take my meaning. The men of both the Left and the Right who dominated, even terrorized, *that* time lived intense but brief lives. Their intellectual corpses are still stacked in the odd corners of universities, government departments, and the like where they do whatever it is that they do. No one much cares, for they were subsequently judged to have been appallingly wrong about American society and, worse, were seen to have been unforgivably intolerant of any who hesitated to embrace their all-encompassing credos. Archibald MacLeish has remarked of his fellow poets that "there

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is nothing worse for our trade than to be in style." The equivalent, for those whose concern is governance, is submission to the noisiest problems of the moment to the exclusion of the most important ones.

What then are the "problems poorly stated" of our time? They are various but have, it seems to me, a unifying characteristic; namely, the rejection by those seeking a more just, more equal society of any indications that our society is in fact becoming more just and more equal. Society is seen in ahistorical terms: what is not altogether acceptable is altogether unacceptable; gradations are ignored and incremental movements are scorned. Those who by disposition are incrementalists, or for whom the contemplation of society has led to a conviction that incremental change is a necessity, not a choice, in human affairs, are baffled by this attitude and resentful of it. The exchanges that follow are bitter and unproductive. It is at all events my view that this is so because the problems at issue have so far been defined in fairly traditional *political* terms when what in fact is at issue is an immense stirring, little understood, if indeed understandable, of cultural dimensions. Fundamental ethical and moral issues—religious issues—are involved: issues that politics, especially the politics of a liberal democracy, are uniquely unable to resolve.

Two years ago, in the Phi Beta Kappa oration at Harvard, I argued that in fact we were witnessing the onset of the first heresies of liberalism. Heresy is an unloved term, especially in a liberal society, but it has real meaning: the rejection of beliefs fundamental to the dominant, pervasive world view of the society involved. Of necessity, the heresies of liberalism would be procedural in nature, for it is in process that a liberal society defines itself. In thinking about the subject, I have not been able to get much further than this, but neither have events moved so as to cast greater doubt on the thesis than that which must attend any such large assertion. To the contrary, the rejection of the *authority* of liberal processes, the code that holds that it is bad form to club the dean, that civic statutes must be abided by, that rules of order and civility will be followed at meetings—all that—continues apace, and the pace if anything quickens. As Robert A. Nisbet continues to remind us, when authority relations collapse, power

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relations take their place; and this process, too, has advanced. Violence, which is the means by which power relations are maintained, is considerably more widespread now than it was two years ago, and surely vastly more common at the end of the decade of the 1960s than it was at the beginning of it.

Nothing suggests that the pattern of former times will quickly reassert itself. To the contrary, the indications are that we rose to a new plateau of internal violence in the mid-1960s and that the most we can hope for is to keep from yet another escalation.

Such violence has, of course, made its way onto university campuses and this has led to great apprehension for the future of academic freedom. There are analogues, indeed precedents, for the violence of the streets, the poor, the police, and suchlike. But nothing like the present pattern of threats to and actual assault on university institutions and university members has ever before occurred. Here, in particular, it would seem a future has been lost to us.

This has led to great despair among academic intellectuals: far greater than the news media have yet let on. From one's personal knowledge, on one campus after another there are men of intellectual distinction who are now very close to Joyce's resolve: "silence, exile, cunning." Nor is the alarm simply that of Bourbons. A Marxist historian such as Eugene Genovese speaks with not a little alarm of the "pseudo-revolutionary middle-class totalitarians . . . of the left wing student movement," and one learns that even Professor Marcuse has suggested that professors ought to be treated differently from the oink-ish common swine. Indeed it does seem hard, after all the struggles, bare victories and bitter disappointments of the past quarter century, to be called out in middle age to defend the Rockefeller banks against the onslaught of the boys from Milton Academy. More depressing yet is to find how all too willing a frightened patriciate can be to sacrifice the freedom of the university—or the liberal intellectuals thereof—in the apparent hope that the *furor scholasticus* will go no further.

The strongest such view, from a notably unhysterical pen, is the recent assertion by Arnold Beichman, writing in *Encounter,* to the effect that university faculties

have quietly decided that for the foreseeable future the university is

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no longer a place where truth is to be pursued. What has been tacitly ratified is a decision that the American university is primarily (not secondarily) the springboard for upward social mobility as the ascriptive right for ethnic minorities.

This can be overdone. Beichman accurately (but almost alone in the current flood of commentary) notes that ethnic mobility has always been a prominent component of higher education—certainly so from the time Catholics began to establish competitive institutions with Protestants. One recalls Yeats's letter of 1904 to Lady Gregory:

> I have been entirely delighted [he writes] with the big, merry priests of Notre Dame, all Irish and proud as Lucifer of their success in getting Jews and nonconformists to come to their college and of the fact that they have no endowments.

One recalls far more vividly growing up in New York City in the poverty-ridden 1930s, and yet possessing in that Notre Dame football team a symbol of tribal might and valor that can stir the blood atingle to this day. O, the golden Saturday afternoons when, in the name of every Irish kid caught in the social wreckage of the Eastern slums, thunder indeed shook down from the skies, and those mighty Polish tackles swamped the Navy. . . !

If the demands of newer groups come as a shock to some, it is at least in part because this group function of higher education has tended to be ignored by those groups for which it has been functioning. Yet, the role was obvious enough; and it was not less clear that it would become, if anything, more pronounced to the degree that universities became more central institutions of the society. In the concluding paragraph of *Beyond the Melting Pot,* Nathan Glazer and I wrote: "Religion and race define the next stage of the American peoples." We were not wrong, and one is mystified still that the proposition was viewed at the time with such skepticism on the part of so many. (Not a few of them, it may be added, having become committed to ethnic studies, pursue the matter with the single-minded zeal that is notoriously the accompaniment of sudden religious conversion.)

Simultaneously, if somewhat incompatibly, universities have been mini-bastions of class privilege. This phenomenon has been evident enough in the insistence by almost all parties to intramural

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disputes that those involved are exempt from punishment for deeds that would send lesser persons—without the walls—to court, at the very least, and prison in all likelihood. But again, this is nothing new.

Indeed, some good could come of this if the excesses of the moment were to serve to restore some perspective on just what universities are and what they can do. They are institutions inhabited by younger and older persons often of very great abilities, but usually of very limited experience. With respect to their individual specialties, the judgment of the professors is singularly valuable. But their collective judgment is no better—could, indeed, be worse—than that of the common lot of men. This is not an incidental, random fact; it is a fundamental condition of human society, and the very basis of democratic government.

When William F. Buckley, Jr., wrote that he would far rather entrust his governance—in which he would include the preservation of his civil liberties and his intellectual freedom—to the first hundred persons listed in the Cambridge telephone directory than to the faculty of Harvard College, he was saying no more than what Thomas Jefferson or Henry Adams would have thought self-evident. The remark was greeted at the time with some derision by said faculty, but it may be stated with certainty that more than one tenured professor of that ancient institution has come of late to see its truthfulness with sad clarity.

All this is to the good. What is bad is that the diffusion of violence to the intellectual life of our society is likely to lead to even greater failure to state our problems correctly than has been the case to date. This is so for the most elemental of reasons. Intellectual freedom in the American university has now been seriously diminished. It is past time for talking about what might happen; it has happened. We would do well to clear our minds of cant on that subject. Especially in the social sciences, there is today considerably less freedom than there was a decade ago; and we should expect that it will surely be ten to twenty years before what we would hope to be a normal state will be restored.

I deem it essential that this almost suddenly changed situation be more widely understood; otherwise, the sickness of the time will gradually come to be taken for a normal condition of health

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—and that would be a blow not merely to the age, but to the culture. But if we do perceive our circumstance for what it is, if we do come to accept that for reasons of prudence, or cowardice, or incompetence or whatever, faculties have been everywhere allowing principles and men to be sacrificed, we will at least retain the understanding that something has gone wrong, something that it may be possible someday to right.

It is important then to survive, with our faculties, as it were, as little diminished as possible, and to seek to understand the times —which is to say to state the problems of the time correctly.

Few individuals can hope to contribute more than a small increment to this effort; greater, then, is the reason that as many as possible should seek to do so. Hence, with less hesitance than might otherwise attend the effort to make a simple abstraction about a hopelessly complex reality, I would offer, from the world of politics, the thought that the principal issues of the moment are not political. *They are seen as such:* that is the essential clue to their nature. But the crisis of the time is not political, it is in essence religious. It is a religious crisis of large numbers of intensely moral, even godly, people who no longer hope for God. Hence, the quest for divinity assumes a secular form, but with an intensity of conviction that is genuinely new to our politics. Central to the quest for secular grace is the detestation of secular sin incarnate, namely, the United States of America, "the most repressive, inhumane capitalistic-imperialistic nation," as the student paper of a middle western state university recently put it, "the world has ever seen."

It is important to be clear whence this peculiar moral passion arises. It is from the very eighteenth-century Enlightenment from which arose the American civilization that has so far followed so different a course. The rejection of Christian religion by the Enlightenment has obscured the fact, especially to Christians, that it did not constitute a rejection of Christian morality. To the contrary, it was more often in the name of that morality that the creed was attacked. It was Rousseau, as Michael Polanyi argues (although others would disagree), whose work widened the channels of Enlightenment thought so that in fact "they could be fraught eventually with all the supreme hopes of Christianity, the

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hopes which rationalism had released from their dogmatic framework." Wherewith, supreme of ironies, was loosed upon the world a moral fury that has wrought as much evil, in contrast with the mere brutality of the past, as mankind has ever known, an evil that may yet destroy us. The process arises from a sequence of premises that are logically unassailable, yet that in practice produce a society that is inherently unstable. Polanyi states the argument, which, he correctly observes, no one has yet answered.

> If society is not a divine institution, it is made by man, and man is free to do with society what he likes. There is then no excuse for having a bad society, and we must make a good one without delay. For this purpose you must take power and you can take power over a bad society only by revolution; so you must go ahead and make a revolution. Moreover, to achieve a comprehensive improvement of society, you need comprehensive powers so you must regard all resistance to yourself as high treason and must put it down mercilessly.

Repeatedly, as this fervor becomes pathological, a kind of inversion takes place that transforms violence from a means to an end to an end in itself. There are surprises but few mysteries to this process: the nineteenth century was able to read it in Russian novels; the twentieth to watch it on film. It has been the great disease of the committed intellectual of our time. Thirty years ago, Orwell wrote: "The common man is still living in the mental world of Dickens, but nearly every modern intellectual has gone over to some or other form of totalitarianism." For that is the correct term. The total state; the politicization of all things. It would seem that Britain and America managed in the nineteenth century to escape any deep infestation of this view mostly by not thinking too closely about politics. But one result of this is that in political theory there is no serious counter-argument: all one can say is that one does not like doing good by sending men "up against the wall" to use the apparent term of Che Guevara and the battle cry of the Barnard girls. For the disease is amongst us, and will spread. Incongruously, it appears to have taken roots within organized religion itself. The course of the coming generation is all but fixed: it will include a strong and possibly growing echelon that will challenge the authority of American institutions across the board, and will not be especially scrupulous as to how it does so.

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In this the extreme Left is very likely to be joined by the extreme Right, for to each the values and process of the present American democracy are the enemy to be destroyed.

All in all, there is cause enough for despair. As Midge Decter has put it: "When you are caught between left and right, the only way to go is down." But we are not yet down. We are a strong and competent people, increasingly, I think, aware of our troubles and dangers and shortcomings. The challenge to authority that is now upon us can strengthen and renew institutions as much as it can weaken them. And it can be fun. There is always room, as Orwell wrote, "for one more custard pie." We are not especially well equipped in conceptual terms to ride out the storm ahead, but there are things we know without fully understanding, and one of these is the ultimate value of privacy, and the final ruin when all things have become political.

Having through all my adult life worked to make the American national government larger, stronger, more active, I nonetheless plead that there are limits to what it may be asked to do. In the last weeks of his life, President Kennedy journeyed to Amherst to dedicate a library to Robert Frost and to speak to this point. "The powers of the Presidency," he remarked, "are often described. Its limitations should occasionally be remembered."

The matter comes to this. The stability of a democracy depends very much on the people making a careful distinction between what government can do and what it cannot do. To demand what can be done is altogether in order: some may wish such things accomplished, some may not, and the majority may decide. But to seek that which cannot be provided, especially to do so with the passionate but misinformed conviction that it *can* be, is to create the conditions of frustration and ruin.

What is it that government cannot provide? It cannot provide values to persons who have none, or who have lost those they had. It cannot provide a meaning to life. It cannot provide inner peace. It can provide outlets for moral energies, but it cannot create those energies. In particular, government cannot cope with the crisis in values that is sweeping the Western world. It cannot respond to the fact that so many of our young people do not believe what those before them have believed, do not accept the authority

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of institutions and customs whose authority has heretofore been accepted, do not embrace or even very much like the culture that they inherit.

The twentieth century is strewn with the wreckage of societies that did not understand or accept this fact of the human condition. Ours is not the first culture to encounter such a crisis in values. Others have done so, have given in to the seemingly sensible solution of politicizing the crisis, have created the total state, and have destroyed themselves in the process. Irving Kristol has warned against it in terms at once cogent and urgent:

> *The one way not to cope with this crisis in values is through organized political-ideological action.* Most of the hysteria, much of the stupidity, and a good part of the bestiality of the twentieth century have arisen from efforts to do precisely this. Not only do such efforts fail; they fail in the costliest fashion. And if modern history can be said to teach anything, it is that, intolerable as a crisis in values may be, it invariably turns out to be far less intolerable than any kind of "final solution" imposed by direct political action.

This is only to insist that neither the new Left nor the new Right, if that should come along, nor any such movement should be allowed to impose its particular moral imperatives upon the institutions and processes of the democracy. Without exception these movements are repressive, and almost without exception they are elitist. Their purpose is to impose the superior values of a minority on the inferior lives of the mass. (As illustrated by Nathan Glazer's point that the S.D.S. will typically denounce voting and majority rule in campus matters as "counter-revolutionary." By which read that in a referendum students typically vote to *keep* R.O.T.C. That is, no process is morally acceptable that produces a morally *un*acceptable outcome.) But this is a very different thing from saying there is no moral content to politics. To the contrary, politics is an expression of morality: a form of morality. But it cannot create moral values any more than a steel mill can create iron ore. The problem of the moment is that the ore is running thin. The governments of the Western world have not been notable in their zeal for putting in practice the social morality of religion—charity, compassion, love of neighbor, *et cetera*—most commonly identified as the Christian social ethic, but obviously also Judaic, and

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for that matter Islamic. But formal attachment to that morality rarely wavered, simply because it was the belief of the mass, and generally speaking still is. Now this belief has eroded if not vanished in the leadership echelons of most nations, with the result that increasingly nations are governed, or at least cultures are directed, by men who *know* that they don't know what to do. Even where they delude themselves, the Niebuhrian dilemma remains: man may be moral, but increasingly his will is manifested in the acts of complex organizations that not infrequently are amoral to the point of being positively immoral. (For example, Vietnam: the war of liberal anti-communism. The primary moral passion of "good" men of one generation, leading to acts that evoke the primary moral revulsion of "good" men of the following one.) The result, necessarily, is a certain faltering of leadership, and increasingly also of followership. The Captain Veres are rare now, and soon we shall be running low on Billy Budds.

But all this is obvious. What was Eliot, what was anybody writing about for the first half of the twentieth century? In retrospect, it was easy to be captain of the *Indomitable,* was it not? But what commands shall issue forth from the quarter deck of the *Worried,* the *Uncertain,* the *Not Sure.*

It would seem—conditional tense always!—that what we have to do is to create a secular morality, acceptable to the nonreligious, that accommodates itself to what man will actually do, which is to say, persists in the face of imperfection. This cannot be an easy thing to accomplish, but it would seem the only reassuring course, and probably ought to be pursued with much more deliberation than is now the case.

I surely do not argue for a quietistic government acquiescing in whatever the tides of fortune or increments of miscalculation bring about—and in our time they have brought about hideous things. I do not prescribe for social scientists or government officials a future of contented apoplexy as they observe the mounting disaffection of the young. I certainly do not argue for iron resistance, as other societies have successfully resisted somewhat similar movements in the past.

I simply plead for the religious and ethical sensibility in the culture to see more clearly what is at issue, and to do its work.

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Sympathy is not enough. *Tout pardonner, c'est tout comprendre* is not a maxim that would pass muster with Bernanos or any who have helped us through the recent or distant past. If politics in America is not to become the art of the impossible, the limits of politics must be perceived, and the province of moral philosophy greatly expanded.

Untitled

To Jan Panach

DAVID SHAPIRO

When I entered the first meditation,
I escaped the gravity of the object,
I experienced the emptiness,
And I have been dead a long time.

When I had a voice you could call a voice,
My mother wept to me:
My son, my beloved son,
I never thought this possible,

I'll follow you on foot.
Halfway in mud and slush the microphones picked up.
It was raining on the houses;
It was snowing on the police-cars.

The astronauts were weeping
Going neither up nor out.
And my own mother was brave enough she looked
And it was all right I was dead.

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The Black Youth Movement

SAUNDERS REDDING

FROM ITS BEGINNING in 1960 until well past the middle years of the decade, the black youth movement did not have much to do with what is commonly thought of as education. Although it began among students in exclusively black institutions, where the competence of the instructors and the quality of instruction generally left something to be desired, the average of the students had no quarrel with the learning they were getting. They lacked the sophistication to question it. After all, they understood it to be—as in fact it was—the same learning that their contemporaries in white colleges and universities were getting. And what was good enough for white folks was good enough for them. Besides, the average of black students professed to believe that Southern University, a black institution, was as good as Louisiana State, Morehouse College as good as Sewanee, Bennett College as good as Agnes Scott, and Howard University quite the equal of Harvard.

What black students of the year 1960 wanted was simply an end to segregation and discrimination. Although integration was undoubtedly their ultimate goal, they did not say so. All their talk was of "desegregation," and all they asked was that the process begin on a basic level that everyone could understand and all ordinary folk could relate to. As if to emphasize this, the students began their campaign at a lunch counter in a five and ten cent store in Greensboro, North Carolina. Inspired by the example and persuaded by the precepts of Martin Luther King, Jr. (who was soon working directly with them), students in all-black institutions organized the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

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(S.N.C.C. or SNICK) in 1961, and the next year broadened their campaign to include, chiefly, the elimination of discrimination in voting. They were surprised when liberal and concerned white students rushed to associate with S.N.C.C., and they were pleased and proud to admit them.

Now all that is changed. It is possible to fix the date when change began, but why it began is another matter. In 1965, James Forman was ousted as head of S.N.C.C. Almost the first public announcement of his successor, Stokely Carmichael, was a declaration to the effect that henceforth S.N.C.C. would be all black. While whites would be welcome to make financial contributions, they would not be permitted to join the organization or to work in its programs.

This keep-it-black reaction gradually spread from S.N.C.C. to CORE to local branches of the Black Students Union, and now is an overriding influence on the whole black youth movement. It leaves no tenable ground between integration and alienation, and it threatens the aspirations of those who advocate it. A kind of self-defeating extremism, it is rooted in a simple assumption that whites and blacks have held for years—an assumption that is itself "the cause of all our woes": the white man is superior to the black.

The truth or falsity of this is beside the point. What is to the point is that, with all the weight of psychic and symptomatic support behind it, the assumption has operated to produce a body of alleged knowledge that, exalting the Western, Anglo-Saxon tradition, is Rah! Rah! White Folks! generally, and in regard to American history, literature and culture is antiblack racist specifically. This is the knowledge, compacted of distorted fact and myth, that is taught on all levels in American schools. Once absorbed, it becomes extremely difficult for the average white to believe in equality, freedom and human dignity for the black, and equally difficult for the average black to believe himself worthy of them.

The spokesmen-leaders of black youth act upon this assumption even while the internal logic of their movement demands that they reject it. But here the rhetoric of the revolution should be mentioned as a factor. The cognitive meaning of such phrases as "cultural identity," "cultural nationalism," "ethnic monism," and

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"black power" has been lost. The phrases have become clichés, and you cannot fashion an ideology from clichés. So the spokesmen-leaders talk about doing their own "black thing." They inveigh against Western tradition as racist, corrupt, irrelevant, and against the white man as ignorant and brutal. They pretend to draw upon the intellectual and professional resources, the existential knowledge, and the cultural inheritance of the black ghetto. But when it comes down to cases, practice subverts principle.

Take Rap Brown. Although an impassioned spouter of "black power" and an ardent advocate of "ethnic integrity," when he is indicted for a criminal offense, he retains the services of not one, but two white lawyers. Or the instance of LeRoi Jones. If he has said it once, he has said it publicly a half-dozen times over the past three years: I write for a black audience. But his works are published by white publishers for a white market and, excepting the short-lived, federally-supported experimental Black Arts theater productions, his plays have been produced and directed by whites in theaters owned and controlled by whites in off-Broadway neighborhoods where blacks seldom go—even to see LeRoi Jones's plays. And anyway, how high is the common denominator of the audience of black people he says he writes for? How many of his soul brothers would understand the symbolic and metaphorical *A System of Dante's Hell* (a novel) and *The Dutchman* (a play), both of which owe considerably to the despised Western, Anglo-Saxon tradition?

To charge the spokesmen-leaders with simple mendacity is to ignore the error of understanding into which they have led the students to whom they make the strongest appeal. Neither they nor the most vocal black students seem to understand that their felt need for a change in the materials and methods of education is as yet uninformed by rational thought. Indeed, given the conditions as they themselves have stated them—white racist learning, social irrelevance, the cultural alienation of black people—given these conditions, which, they also claim, generated the keep-it-black phase of the black youth movement, the demand for a "black studies" program to which only blacks would be admitted is naïve and silly. To meet the demand would be to perpetuate the very

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conditions to which black students say they are opposed, and which, presumably, dictated their choice of white institutions in the first place.

It is impossible to believe that the black students who were listened to at Cornell, Northwestern and San Francisco State spoke for all, or even for a majority, of the black students enrolled in white colleges and universities. One is encouraged in this doubt by a recent letter from a black student at Yale.

> We do not [he wrote] talk of black studies here. We do speak of an Afro-American program, which we define as an American studies curriculum which structures into the corpus of historical and literary material the substantive facts about black Americans. . . . Our argument is that the course in American history that ignores or slights the black man's role is a bad course. We believe that writing by black Americans is *American* writing, and that to segregate it from the body of American expression is a ridiculous exercise of ignorance, and that it does great harm to American literature as an instrument of cultural and aesthetic diagnosis. . . .

These arguments are not easily refuted. The exploration of the black American reality within the context of the American experience is a proper scholarly activity, and courses in sociology, history, literature, political science, linguistics, and the like afford inviting opportunities to pursue it. If taught by competent instructors, the intellectual demands of such courses would be rigorous enough to satisfy the highest academic standards. The courses would be open to all who cared to take them.

For the final test of Afro-American studies will be the extent to which they rid the minds of whites and blacks alike of false learning, and the extent to which they promote for blacks and whites alike a completely rewarding participation in American life.

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Living with Crisis

A View from Berkeley

HENRY F. MAY

IN 1965, I wrote an article on the Berkeley student movement. As I read it now, it is full of the shock and excitement of Berkeley then. Supporters of the student movement thought they were living in a revolutionary dawn; faculty and students together would overthrow a repressive and inefficient administration and build the university of the future. Opponents of the movement, on the other hand, believed that academic values could not be maintained in an atmosphere of shouting and slogans; some doubted that in an institution so shaken even the necessary minimum of order could be restored. Neither hopes nor fears were altogether ridiculous, but five years later the hopes are at best more sober and the fears more concrete.

Since the Free Speech Movement of winter, 1964, the scene on and off the campus has changed past recognition. Violent student revolution has become worldwide, reflecting the division and near paralysis of reform, the discrediting of establishments, and also the bankruptcy of radical theory. In America the civil rights movement, the glow of Kennedy and early Johnson reform seem very distant. The Right wins local triumphs, and the most serious struggle in Washington is between moderate and extreme conservatives. Above all, since about 1965 the Vietnam war, although it has played no direct part in the most recent Berkeley crises, has been the most powerful source of disaffection. The draft is the main fact

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in the lives of young men and their girl friends, a reason to stay on the campus and avoid graduation.

All these changes show their most extreme effects in California. Governor Reagan, supported against Pat Brown by many campus radicals, has made Berkeley a very profitable political issue and finally controls a majority of the Board of Regents. When these are irritated, they sometimes lash out in actions as ineffective and irrational as those of campus militants. Many citizens of California applaud them; others, bewildered by events, veer to Right or Left as violence seems to come from Left or Right.

A few faculty members leave Berkeley every year; most stay, divided between hopes and fears. If I ask almost any of my colleagues how he feels after reading the campus newspaper or going to a meeting of the Academic Senate, the answer is likely to reflect despair. If, however, I ask him how his graduate or undergraduate classes are going, his expression changes: "Let me tell you about a wonderful paper I got yesterday. A little nutty perhaps, but so bright, and so well researched. . . ."

The most obvious new development in Berkeley is the increase in violence. In 1964 peaceful sit-ins were shocking enough; between then and 1968 the movement confined itself to strikes and marches. In 1968-69 we have had four violent confrontations. Although my purpose in this article is to interpret and not to narrate, it is necessary to look briefly at each of these. Their differences and similarities say a lot about the Berkeley scene, and perhaps about wider matters.

The first outbreak of violence came in July, 1968, in the form of a clash between the "street people" of Telegraph Avenue and the police over an unauthorized meeting. ("Street people," which contrasts neatly with "straight people," is the current name for the unattached and sometimes bizarre youth who have flocked to Berkeley in increasing numbers since 1964.) There is no question that the area south of campus, fascinating to the young and in some aspects intriguing to their elders, has become an area of petty and not-so-petty crime, going well beyond marihuana and sex offenses, and that both the university and the Berkeley businessmen find it hard to live with. This clash arose over an unauthorized meeting; it did not involve the university administration or the summer stu-

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dents. Windows were smashed, rocks and at least one Molotov cocktail were thrown at police; bonfires were started. The public was horrified, but when the police overreacted, enforcing a curfew by indiscriminate attacks on anybody who happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time, sympathy predictably shifted. The clash ended with a complete victory for the street people. Reversing itself, the city council permitted the closing of the avenue for a euphoric and highly untraditional Fourth of July celebration, to the intense anger of the police, who had been fighting to sustain an earlier and opposite decision.

The next crisis, in the fall, arose over a course in which Eldridge Cleaver was to give most of the lectures. His suitability for university teaching, although not his intelligence or importance, was questioned by some faculty. Nevertheless, the course was duly sanctioned by the new machinery for nondepartmental courses set up in the wake of the Free Speech Movement. The Regents, prompted by the Governor, forbade the granting of credit for the course and ruled that in future no guest lecturer could give more than one lecture in any course. This action seemed to the faculty to raise a dangerous question: were the Regents planning to assert powers, constitutionally theirs but delegated for at least half a century, to govern each of the nine campuses directly?

To a great many students, the Cleaver course became a symbol of two causes, experimental courses and racial equality. Naturally, the radical movement pounced on the issue, yet the resultant protests were a failure. A mild-mannered sit-in in Sproul Hall produced arrests. This was followed by a destructive and coercive sit-in in Moses Hall, modeled frankly on Columbia. This was dealt with by police with dispatch and also restraint; its leaders were arrested and punished also by campus authorities. There was almost no campus protest, the Governor praised the Chancellor, and many, some cheerfully and some sadly, concluded that the Berkeley student movement had committed suicide.

The winter quarter, however, put an end to any such hopes or fears. The new conflict arose over the issue of black studies which, in Berkeley as elsewhere, involves emotions of high intensity and shifts alignments. Berkeley, which had never had more than a handful of black students or faculty, had for several years felt guilty

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about this. The administration, with faculty support, had developed a program for special admissions on an increasing scale. When black militant students, supported by off-campus black groups, demanded a black studies program, the administration had indicated approval in principle and appointed black administrators to develop a project. Some faculty members, especially those long concerned with closely related subjects, felt bypassed and many more had doubts about such matters as racial criteria for appointments or hints of special racial definitions of subject matter.

Well after it was clear that some action to increase black studies would be taken, and while the matter was proceeding through faculty committees in the time-honored and time-consuming manner, the Third World Liberation Front called a strike. The essence of its demands was a program for black, Chicano and Oriental studies, controlled by Third World faculty and students, with some connection to outside Third World communities. Somewhat half-heartedly, the considerable organized minority of teaching assistants called a separate strike of their own, combining a version of Third World demands with trade-union objectives. Most students, while generally sympathetic to minority studies, nonetheless failed to support the strike, and class attendance was almost normal. Frustrated and angry, black, Chicano and white militants resorted to three kinds of coercive action. The first, an attempt to break up large classes by threat of force, was overwhelmingly unpopular (at San Francisco State it had scored major successes). The second technique was mass picketing of the principal entrance to the campus, Sather Gate, sometimes in the form of actual shoulder-to-shoulder blocking of the entrance. (There are, of course, plenty of other ways to get on and off the campus, but some *anti*strike students and others insisted on their right to use Sather Gate, thus producing the sort of symbolic issue that seems most productive of emotion.) The third tactic was most dangerous: small groups of demonstrators, fifty to several hundred, would snake dance through the campus, visiting a different building each time, shouting slogans and obscenities, smashing rows of office windows with clubs, tossing rocks through library and classroom windows, or dumping library cards. There were many attempts at arson, and the largest classroom auditorium was gutted by an unexplained fire in the first

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night of the strike. These actions, far out of the control of a small campus police force on a large and open campus, led first to the summoning of considerable outside assistance by the campus administration, and then to the proclamation by the Governor with considerable fanfare of a state of extreme emergency. The practical effect of this was not only to bring hundreds of highway patrolmen to the campus but to turn over control of operations to the sheriff of Alameda County. Battles developed in which clubs and tear gas were used on one side and baskets of rocks and chunks of concrete on the other. Yet, until almost the end of this crisis, police were unable to control the situation: the snake dance still went on; windows were still broken, and life became nearly intolerable. Through it all, however, students and professors kept classes going, sometimes in situations that required considerable courage. Finally, the Academic Senate passed a resolution supporting an ethnic studies college in principle but granting none of the strikers' immediate demands, and the strike was called off.

Once more a period of calm seemed to arrive, and the shaken campus began to resume an air of near normality. In the spring quarter, however, all predictions were again nullified by the outbreak of the worst crisis so far over the least comprehensible issue, that of the People's Park.

Not Vietnam, not ethnic studies, but the disposition of a small piece of university-owned land produced the most alarming crisis Berkeley had seen. To solid citizens of Berkeley, to many faculty members, and to the administration the problem seemed simple: the university owned the land, it had long planned various uses for it, and now had decided to turn it into a soccer field. Squatter occupation would produce violations of laws concerning drugs, public decency, and sanitation. These fears were confirmed by the statements of some of the allies of the park developers. Moreover, as the struggle developed, command of the People's Park forces devolved on a familiar group of radical leaders who had led utterly different kinds of actions in the past.

To the other side, the issue was equally clear. The land had been long unused, and there was no evidence whatever that anybody wanted a soccer field. Students and street people, long urged to do something constructive, had planted grass and flowers and

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installed playground equipment, which was being used with enthusiasm by parents and children. The sudden decision to end all this by building a steel fence was part of a program of driving the hippies out of Berkeley, an objective that had indeed had articulate support from some Berkeley citizens.

Despite the explosive nature of the symbols of steel fences and flowers, this crisis might have been only middle-sized—say, another Cleaver affair—except for two facts. The first was a meeting in Sproul Plaza in which the student body president-elect was heard to urge the crowd to "take the park." (Exactly what he said, with what intent or effect, will be the subject of court action.) The crowd moved in the direction of the park. When they encountered police, some members of the crowd threw rocks and iron bars, a hydrant was opened, and one police car set on fire.

The second fact making this the worst of all our crises was the response of the police. Apparently somebody had decided that the police, this time, should "teach Berkeley a lesson." After immediately responding with tear gas to whatever threat existed (as usual, accounts differ radically), the police later in the afternoon of May 15 were issued shotguns charged both with bird shot and with lethal 00 buckshot. One man was killed and another blinded, a number were wounded, and students studying in a room in the library, far from the original encounter, were placed in danger of their lives when buckshot was fired through a window by police chasing demonstrators and apparently firing in the air. During the next few days police action made the university even more unsafe for peaceful pursuits than it had been made by militants in the previous episode. National Guardsmen ringed the campus with bayonets, making it at times impossible to move on or off, and indulged in crowd-control exercises in which large groups were moved at bayonet point. The noise of helicopters, constantly droning right overhead, rendered intellectual work almost impossible, and on at least one occasion CN gas was sprayed on a large area of the campus from the air. Under these circumstances, some professors who had insisted on sticking to routine in every previous episode met their classes off campus. Yet it was still a fact, and to me a moving one, that students resisted this near-shutdown by police as they had resisted other shutdown attempts by militants.

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Although some other campuses of the university were officially closed in protest, at Berkeley efforts to stop remaining classes were met once more with extreme hostility. Undergraduates sometimes called professors, reporting that they had tried to come to class but had been stopped by bayonets or tear gas. Graduate students called up to explain that their papers would be late because they could not get into the library. The campus community had never seemed so united.

In an effort to arouse Berkeley citizens and thus produce pressure on the mayor and council against police action, demonstrators used various nonviolent tactics in areas off the campus (shop-ins, park-ins, *et cetera*). In reprisal, the National Guard cordoned a large area of the principal street, arresting four hundred and eighty-two people who were there, including militants, bystanders, shoppers and one postman. These were all taken to Santa Rita prison camp. Obviously knowing that charges against them could not stand up, prison authorities and police there treated those arrested with such brutality that, after later investigation, prison authorities were punished by the thoroughly antiradical sheriff.

When emotions had tightened to a maximum, a protest march was announced. This was expected to draw very large numbers of people from widespread and diverse groups. The police and guard were still in occupation, and still worse violence seemed likely. The Academic Senate, the administration and the city council backed a last-minute compromise on the park issue involving leasing the land to the city for some sort of park development. The march, past barbed-wire barricades and first-aid stations manned by San Francisco medical students, turned into a bizarre, cheerful, entirely peaceful spring festival. By the end of the day flowers were being twined in the barricades and even sported in the helmets of smiling highway patrolmen. Hundreds of march monitors, fifty official faculty observers, and many volunteers of all sorts exhorted the crowds to avoid provocation. The crisis passed, the fence remained, the campus turned with a shudder to final examinations, and the Regents refused to accept the compromise now backed by administration, students, faculty and the city government. With this and every other issue unsettled, Berkeley in June, 1969, once more began a new quarter with a semblance of academic calm.

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From this abbreviated history, a few lessons immediately stand out. One is the unpredictability of events. In a divided and confused society, emotions are discharged by symbols, and only those immediately involved can understand why one symbol is effective and another not. Another is that in such a society all power is tenuous and shifting: neither the Regents, the administration, the faculty nor the students can altogether transcend the peculiar limits of time and mood. A third, and the only comforting conclusion, is the extreme toughness of serious intellectual values. In an effort to pursue these conclusions a little further, I will look first at power groups, then at types of problems.

Among groups, one might as well start with the students, and among them with the "tiny minority" of radicals, to whom conservatives always attribute semimagical powers of forcing "the vast majority" into subversive action. There is indeed a revolutionary minority in Berkeley, and it probably consists of a few hundred students and nonstudents. This minority is, as the recent S.D.S. convention has shown, divided and subdivided among Maoists, Castroites, Black Panthers, and some more revolutionary than any of these. All know that revolution is not possible in the near future in the United States; indeed, some are so remote from actual politics that their usual behavior is academic and even decorous. Others, however, are quite frank in their belief that the only hope is to break down existing institutions by any means possible, and that the way to do this is to shift from one impossible demand to the next; any confrontation serves the ultimate purpose. These are aware that they are well known and intensely unpopular among the less radical students. Between each of our crises this year, representatives of the far Left have complained that the movement was dying. In February, shortly before the T.W.L.F. strike (unexpected by most white radicals), Jerry Rubin, in the *New York Review of Books,* said he was

> . . . depressed to see the old Berkeley audaciousness gone. Shit, three years ago, we were going to overthrow Washington from Telegraph Avenue. Result: broken dreams for hundreds and hundreds of people. "Politico" has virtually become a term of insult in Berkeley today.
>
> Meanwhile, the cops are smiling.

Rubin proved wrong this time: yet the demoralization of the Left

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is obvious. If it were not for the Governor, some of the Regents, and the police, Berkeley radicalism at present might be on its last legs.

The "vast," also known as the "silent," majority can be divided into two groups. The vaster and more silent consists of vocational students. Most engineers, many students of applied and some of pure science (although probably not most law students or members of the School of Social Welfare) belong in this category and take no part in campus political controversy. The other large group, made up mostly of graduate and undergraduate students in the liberal arts, consists of those who are to one degree or another disaffected. The number is hard to estimate; in the two major crises of the Free Speech Movement and the People's Park, perhaps five or six thousand were involved as voters, marchers or occasionally active sympathizers. These are the "youth of today" about whom so much is written. They find little to encourage them in the America of Nixon and Reagan; they detest the Vietnam war (and as a result cannot listen to any defense of American foreign policy); they believe passionately in personal freedom and approve, whether or not they participate in, such demonstrations of it as smoking marihuana, dressing unconventionally, and being open about one's sex life. These are the Berkeley students who used to swarm into the Peace Corps and VISTA and still volunteer in numbers to tutor ghetto children (or plant trees). They are concerned with contemporary art and literature and sometimes even with some of that of the past. Lacking intellectual discipline and a little more intolerant than they mean to be, they have a quick eye and ear for the phony and, in the long run, despite their belief in emotion and its expression, respect intellectual honesty. They can be triggered into political action quickly, but only by issues or symbols that appeal to their deepest feelings. These feelings are not primarily political, but are concerned with relations among individuals and no doubt, finally, with relations between them and their families.

The faculty had best be passed over rather quickly; their collective or political aspect is neither inspiring nor important. Repeating the motions of the great days of 1964 with less and less conviction, they go through the familiar routines of signing manifestos, caucusing, and even making speeches. What usually results is a

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resolution, carefully drawn up by negotiations among wily political opponents, condemning violence or the Regents, or deploring the situation. Understandably, few outsiders notice such resolutions, and most professors have ceased, except in moments of extreme tension, taking part in public affairs at all. If asked, many will explain this by the essential powerlessness of the faculty in the face of the Regents, but this is far too easy. The institution cannot operate without professors; they could, if they wanted to, enforce their essential demands. Their potential influence in the state and the nation is considerable. The real trouble lies in an unresolved inner conflict: while the training, the old loyalties and the emotions of most professors are liberal, their status is conservative. Most have moved from relative poverty to affluence; they are happy in their status and love their work; they do not want to rock the boat. Willing to condone almost any student action directed against the administration or the outside world, faculty members like other people move very quickly to the Right when their own interests—the classroom, the library, the laboratories—are menaced from the Left.

Most insist on maintaining, however, the fiction that they, unlike everybody else, are disinterested. Professors will not be effective in the present situation until they are willing to accept their privileged status more generously and honestly, and to speak for themselves, in terms of both group interests and deeply held, deeply traditional values.

About the administration, the most charitable thing to say is that it is tired. The current Berkeley campus administration is, like most administrations, unideological. Reacting to a truly desperate combination of pressures from militants, Regents, faculty and angry citizens, it has devoted itself almost entirely to keeping the university open. Roger Heyns, chancellor since 1965, has shown great—at times incredible—patience and astuteness as a negotiator. Doubtless these are indispensable qualities for his appalling assignment, but there are others. The administration is almost excessively unideological; it not only moves swiftly from condemning to applauding student power or educational experiment according to the tenor of the moment; it also leaves educational objectives entirely to a faculty too large and fragmented for action (yet tenacious of its powers). It is out of touch with the intellectual concerns of

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professors and the emotions of students. After all, the contacts of administrators with students are nearly all abrasive; their contact with faculty members often depressing. All that I have said of our administration could be said of all administrations of large universities in this country, and in some instances others could be criticized more harshly than ours. But the prevailing administrative style will not work much longer, even for its own modest purposes. To balance very long on a tightrope, one needs a sense of direction.

The Regents, who have constitutionally complete power over the university, have served it well during most of its first century (the centennial year has just, in awkward and gingerly manner, been celebrated). This appointive body, with its fourteen-year terms and its aloofness from current pressures, can be immensely useful as an intermediary between campus, legislature and people. One has to be a very faithful democrat to believe, looking at the history of either recent or remote crises, that the university would have been better under direct legislative or popular control. Yet it seems to most Californians unreasonable to suggest that the people who pay the bills should have nothing at all to say about what is done with their money. The present system gives them power ultimately to change the university by electing a new governor, just as the people of the nation can change the Supreme Court by changing the President.

At present, the majority of the Regents are heavily influenced by ex officio Regent Reagan, and their behavior is hardly helpful. Descending from Olympian clouds to meet each month on a different campus, they have intervened at times so heavy-handedly, for instance in both the Cleaver and the park crises, that the position of even the cautious and patient Heyns administration has been made almost if not quite intolerable. In their indignation at the reappointment of Herbert Marcuse at the San Diego campus, they resumed a power they had relinquished recently in the interests of decentralization: the right to approve or reject all tenure promotions and appointments. Most cases come up at about the same time of year. Thus they arrive together at two or three of the Regents' meetings. Each has already received prolonged and exhaustive investigation; almost every one has already been long delayed. In back of each is a restless individual, usually being courted

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by other universities. Since the Regents cannot possibly look into any but a very few, their resumption of this power can have at best little constructive and much destructive effect. Despite disclaimers, few faculty members believe the action was taken for any reason other than the possibility of intervention on political grounds. Political intervention in a tenure appointment, or even the suspicion of it, is one of the few acts that might unite faculty and students in the whole university and, indeed, the academic community of the nation.

Another group with important but limited power on the campus is the police. Although calling police onto the campus was unthinkable several years ago, few now would question that their presence in large numbers is sometimes necessary. As long as we have militants ready to resort to arson, vandalism and threats against teachers and students, to be without police is to give complete power to the most violent. Liberals are at last beginning to think about this uncongenial problem. I have heard faculty members, indignantly liberal in 1964 and 1966, demanding sterner police action as they watched their office doors smashed or worried about their books or manuscripts. It is at present the case that once our small campus police force needs to call in outside help, command passes at once to the sheriff of Alameda County. Police actions in the last crisis, when they came nearer than militants ever have to shutting the campus down, make clear the dangers of this situation. Justifiably angry with those who habitually call them pigs, seriously concerned for their safety, many are also in the habit of considering all young men with long hair "creeps" and possible anarchists. Above all, few know what a university does, or what needs protecting. It is obvious that police excesses must be vigorously and tenaciously challenged, and their perpetrators punished. But this is not enough; liberals must turn their thoughts, however reluctantly, toward the detailed problems of police behavior. Unless, before our next crisis, there is some advance agreement on the command of police on campus, and on the limits of police action in various contingencies, any determined group of militants can bring on conditions approaching civil war and thereby shut the university down.

There is one more group with power—this time less limited

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although less direct. This is the people of California. Unfortunately, most members of the university community, particularly the faculty, are ignorant of the feelings and attitudes of most of their fellow citizens. Always to some degree, and at present still more acutely, academic liberals suffer from siege mentality. "They," the outsiders, are seen either solely in terms of possible danger or, worse, as people who need to be enlightened or educated. Although every issue of every more-or-less liberal newspaper urges its readers to understand students, or blacks, or radicals, nobody suggests trying to understand conservatives. Nobody suggests that the Right, like the Left, is complex and divided, that it is as ridiculous to consider every Reagan voter a fascist as it is to consider every Third World supporter a Maoist. Nobody suggests that both sides of the generation conflict are painful; that it is natural for people to be disturbed if they think their children are turning to ideas and practices they fear and detest. A great many people in California are proud of the university and do not want it destroyed by anyone: the public was divided in the loyalty oath battle of the fifties and during the Free Speech Movement. If it is less divided now, that is partly the fault of the academy, and there is no possibility of improvement in the situation that does not restore serious discussion of *all* campus problems. Frankness, not bland or defensive counterpropaganda, is the chief need.

The groups stay the same; the issues shift and change. It may be that the real issues are not the local ones, but the unsolved problems that divide and afflict America and the world. Beneath or beyond even these issues, although it is unpopular to say so, lie the conflicts of students with their parents and their upbringing. On the surface, there are two kinds of recurrent conflicts around which our conflicting forces mass and shift.

The first involves student power. Since 1964 many liberals have blamed campus troubles on illiberal or arbitrary treatment of students. There is something in this; doubtless our young people are prevented from maturing by all sorts of forces. Sometimes liberals and radicals use obviously false analogies; giving grades to students or denying their right to devise their own education is compared to denying votes to Negroes, *et cetera*. Recently it has become obligatory for those who denounce campus troublemakers, from Presi-

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dent Nixon down, to express also their sympathy for "legitimate demands of students to control their own lives" (the degree and manner of such control are seldom spelled out). In his smashingly successful speech to the Commonwealth Club after the People's Park crisis, Governor Reagan, after damning militants and defending the police, shifted the main attack to stuffy professors. Discussing the knowledge factory, research versus teaching and other familiar themes, he sounded at times almost like Paul Goodman. The Commonwealth Club gave him an ovation, but students have not as yet swung behind his banner.

It is customary, in discussing student power, to say that students today are more mature than students used to be. This may be so, since they are more troubled, but if maturity means knowing what one wants, I doubt it. One thing students *are* clear about is that they want their private lives free, and by now in most ways this objective is almost achieved. Clearly an academic institution cannot enforce the older generation's conception of proper behavior on twenty-seven thousand individuals in an urban setting. Yet the new thirteen demands of the People's Park proponents add up to more than most citizens of Berkeley are anywhere nearly willing to concede: an enclave in which laws regarding narcotics, sex and other matters are suspended, runaway children are welcome, and police power does not penetrate.

In terms of campus order, there has for long been too much tokenism and not enough experiment in actual student control of student concerns. There have been advisory student committees on rules, student officers speak at Academic Senate meetings and may shortly speak regularly at Regents' meetings; there are students on some committees and will be on others. In the strike of 1966 a group of the faculty demanded and secured the creation of a "Student-Faculty Committee on Governance." This came up with a very long and complex document, the essence of which was student-faculty collaboration on all subjects, with the administration excluded. This report was largely ignored by everybody except the radical students, who denounced it, and the daily student paper, which gave it routine praise. Another manifesto by a relatively conservative group of professors, issued at the same time, was still more completely ignored. This urged experimentation in the di-

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rection of division rather than collaboration, with different spheres of competence recognized for faculty, students and administration, and students placed in genuine control, on an experimental basis, of political behavior and enforcement of free speech rules. Whatever the merits of these suggestions, regental aggressiveness and crisis mentality would make it difficult to implement them now.

As for student power in academic matters, it has proved very difficult, in Berkeley as elsewhere, to get clear student proposals for overall curricular changes. When students do generalize, they often demand at once immediate relevance to contemporary problems and complete individual freedom, two demands that are difficult seriously to combine. Students see, after all, only a small part of the university for a short time. This they see clearly and their *particular* suggestions are usually interesting. The university has recognized this through setting up machinery to legitimate, through faculty action, student-initiated courses. This has produced some dubious proposals ("theory and practice of meditation"), some controversial ones (lectures by Cleaver or Tom Hayden), some serious, demanding and well-conceived courses, some obvious free rides, and some straight chicanery. While difficult and sometimes abrasive, student-faculty conflict over this kind of issue seems to me entirely possible of solution. No such conflict, including that over the Cleaver course, has produced any of our most desperate confrontations. In the long run, students themselves reject courses, experimental or conventional, that lack content or quality. There are few graduates of universities who have never taken a bad course; perhaps to try and fail to organize a good one may be an educative experience. It may be that some further distinction can be devised between kinds of courses for which some curricular time is allotted and kinds that actually count toward degrees. It has also been suggested that the whole structure of courses and units be abolished in favor of infrequent but demanding examinations on larger subjects, following somewhat—one hopes not too closely—the European model. Meantime, if there is any subject on which students really want information and in which some sort of expert information exists (drugs and their effects, the sociology of sexual mores, contemporary religious practices), an urgent effort should be made to provide it on a serious level.

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The second category of issues, often related to the first and to the underlying cultural conflict, is over the meaning and purpose of education. What is the university for? Thousands of students at Berkeley have little idea, and their elders are not providing very convincing answers. Today, as so often in the American past, a society that has always been anxious, suspicious, yet enormously concerned about education, is in the midst of an argument over its meaning.

Three main roles for the university are seriously presented, and none is new. The first, and often the strongest in America, is the civic or moral. Like Americans in the early Republic, Governor Reagan, Max Rafferty, the black militants, many education departments, and both the liberal and the conservative press are agreed that the job of the university is to instill correct principles in the young. All they disagree about is what these principles *are*. At the moment, no faction, radical or conservative, is having much success in indoctrination. Students at Berkeley have heard too many slogans, from the press and from the plaza. If they are somewhat more inclined to believe the radicals than the conservatives, this is because they find the society seriously unsatisfactory in terms of their own values and their own lives. Their deepest loyalties are to each other, to codes of behavior, to styles of life and not to programs: about programs they are accumulating a good deal of sad wisdom—perhaps too fast.

Thus the second role, proclaimed by many students and their friends off campus with real fervor, is self-expression. This again is familiar in America: it was the program of Transcendentalists and of the most radical progressives of the early twentieth century. In its present sometimes bizarre forms it shocks most middle-aged liberals: these, responsive to education for social justice, cannot accept meditation, encounter groups, Eastern religions and political existentialism.

The third purpose often proclaimed is still the disinterested search for truth. Like God, this is the object of faith despite being seldom seen directly and obscured by traditional rhetoric. Yet most professors and I think most students do believe in it to some degree. Real intellectual honesty and, still more, real intellectual joy have remarkable capacity to sustain themselves under difficulty.

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Our students usually respond—sometimes reversing their own initial preferences—to whatever approaches these standards.

Any solution to the conflict among these three purposes must in a divided and complex society be radically pluralistic; none of the three can be dismissed. Certainly a vast public university cannot ignore the acute problems of the society that supports it. It is idle to deny that students—like everybody—need to explore their own minds and personalities. Some genuinely academic exercises, particularly those involving serious and sympathetic criticism of student work, can help in this task. Yet, I think whatever does not partake to some extent of the pursuit of truth, whatever cannot be judged at least in part by intellectual standards, is destructive of universities. It is where such standards have been best maintained that we find even now our areas of strength.

This does not mean that the present system of courses, units, grades, teaching assistants and degrees is sacred, or that the object of the university must be for the largest possible number to move as far as possible toward the Ph.D. It is extremely easy to confuse defense of academic standards with defense of the status quo and especially of faculty privileges. It is very hard to apply standards of academic excellence, free of cultural prejudice, to new subject matters, yet the effort must be made. The study and appreciation of mysticism or irrational feeling is clearly a part of the university's mission; but religious worship and encounter groups must both remain, like sexual activity, extracurricular. As for ethnic studies, it is obvious that whites need to know more, think more, and even feel more about the worlds of the Negro and of other minorities, and that these minorities can honestly and legitimately approach some subjects from new and fruitful angles of vision. Although the debt of white Americans to racial minorities is real, it seems to me that a better rationale for minority studies is the genuine enrichment that can come to all from expanding the scope and variety of our understanding. No effort can be too great, few sacrifices too drastic, that will really help to overcome handicaps, get over barriers, or reduce failures of communication. Yet separate admissions, followed by separate curricula, separately taught and judged by separate standards, will not help; in the long run they can only be a fraud, and a racist fraud at that.

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This review—and I really believe any attempt at an honest review—of the state of affairs at Berkeley can hardly lead to optimism. Any one of several familiar issues, for instance ethnic studies or tenure—or, more likely, another issue yet invisible—can result in crisis; any crisis can be escalated, if the moment and the symbols are right, into confrontation and violence. Certainly some faculty members will tire of the pressures and search for more peaceful scenes (whether or not they will find them is another matter). Yet I cannot but find some encouraging signs. First is the fact that students and faculty have learned to do excellent academic work even in crisis. Another perhaps is that faculty members have gone a bit beyond rhetoric: some have volunteered to observe police and militant actions in an effort to prevent bloodshed, and have learned something thereby. Again, the interest and even respect shown for opposite views by some speakers at the Berkeley City Council meeting during the park crisis was impressive; some hippies, blacks, merchants, professors, housewives know that the others are *there*.

It may be that in Berkeley we have begun to get over a set of illusions: the conservative illusion that firmness in punishing the "tiny minority" will end the trouble; the liberal illusion that academic reform or faculty-student committees will end conflict; the radical one that destruction of institutions will bring freedom. As in the profound and harrowing problems of the nation, there are no solutions in sight; solutions must wait on new alignments not easily arrived at. The best one can hope to do in a university that at all reflects the state of American society at present is to live through troubled times without quite losing sight of one's purpose. Is there any American community that has learned more about doing this than ours?

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Respectable Bigotry

MICHAEL LERNER

WHEN WHITE YALE STUDENTS denounce the racist university or racist American society, one has little doubt about what they refer to. One also has little doubt about the political leanings of the speaker. He is a good left-liberal or radical, upper-class or schooled in the assumptions of upper-class liberalism.

Liberal-to-radical students use these phrases and feel purged of the bigotry and racism of people such as Chicago's Mayor Daley. No one could be further from bigotry, they seem to believe, than they.

But it isn't so. An extraordinary amount of bigotry on the part of elite, liberal students goes unexamined at Yale and elsewhere. Directed at the lower middle class, it feeds on the unexamined biases of class perspective, the personality predilections of elite radicals and academic disciplines that support their views.

There are certainly exceptions in the liberal-radical university society—people intellectually or actively aware of and opposed to the unexamined prejudice. But their anomalousness and lack of success in making an ostensibly introspective community face its own disease is striking.

In general, the bigotry of a lower-middle-class policeman toward a ghetto black or of a lower-middle-class mayor toward a rioter is not viewed in the same perspective as the bigotry of an upper-middle-class peace matron toward a lower-middle-class mayor; or of an upper-class university student toward an Italian, a Pole or a National Guardsman from Cicero, Illinois—that is, if the latter two cases are called bigotry at all. The violence of the ghetto is patronized as it is "understood" and forgiven; the vio-

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lence of a Cicero racist convinced that Martin Luther King threatens his lawn and house and powerboat is detested without being understood. Yet the two bigotries are very similar. For one thing, each is directed toward the class directly below the resident bigot, the class that reflects the dark side of the bigot's life. Just as the upper class recognizes in lower-class lace-curtain morality the veiled up-tightness of upper-middle-class life, so the lower-middle-class bigot sees reflected in the lower class the violence, sexuality and poverty that threaten him. The radical may object that he dislikes the lower middle class purely because of its racism and its politics. But that is not sufficient explanation: Polish jokes are devoid of political content.

Empirical studies do not show it, but it is my hunch that shortly after Negro jokes became impossible in elite circles, the Polish jokes emerged. They enjoy a continuing success in universities even today. It also happens that while Frank Zappa and the Mothers of Invention or Janis Joplin may vie for top position in the hip radical affections, the cellar of their affections—the object of their ample, healthy, appropriate, unneurotic capacities for hatred—is securely in the hands of that happy team of Mayor Daley and the Chicago Police. Hip radicals in New Haven are often amused by the Italian Anti-Defamation League bumper sticker: "A.I.D.—Americans of Italian Descent." Poles, Italians, Mayor Daley and the police are safe objects for amusement, derision or hatred. They are all safely lower-middle-class.

Part of the vaunted moral development of college activists is their capacity for empathy—their ability to put themselves in the position of the Disadvantaged Other and to see the world from his circumstances. This theoretically leads them to empathize with ghetto blacks and therefore to distrust the authorities who oppress them. Unnoticed goes the fact that the "authorities" who get hated are the lower-middle-class police, the visible representatives of the more abstract and ambivalently regarded "power structure." Other favored targets for confrontation are the National Guard and the military, both bastions of the lower middle class. It is true that Dow Chemical representatives are attacked and that professors and university administrators are sometimes held captive. It is also true that the police, the National Guard and the army are the agents of

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societal racism, student and ghetto repression and the war in Vietnam. But all these things should not blind us to the fact that the people toward whom bigotry, as well as political dislike, is directed by upper-class radicals are all too frequently lower-middle-class.

Radicals gloat over the faulty syntax of the lower middle class with the same predictability that they patronize the ghetto language as "authentic." They delight in Mayor Daley's malapropisms ("Chicago will move on to higher and higher platitudes of achievement") and in the lace-curtain cynicism of his denunciations: "They use language from the bordello, language that would shock any decent person." Why do they patronize one authenticity and mock another?

These upper-class attitudes are not a narrow phenomenon. *Time, Life* and *Newsweek* print ghetto phrases in reverent spidery italics—surrounded by space to emphasize the authentic simplicity—beneath soulful pictures of the cleansing but terrible, terrible poverty of ghetto blacks or rural poor. They reprint Daley verbatim as the fool.

One of the strongest supports for this upper-class, "respectable" bigotry lies in the academic field of psychology. In much of what practitioners choose to investigate and interpret, cognitive capacity, moral development and psychodynamic organization of lower-middle-class individuals are described as inferior to radical activities. Lower-middle-class people are more "authoritarian," more likely to have "closed" minds, more likely to rely on "law-and-order morality" rather than the more advanced "moral-principle orientation," and more likely to use "massive" ego-defenses such as repression instead of the more refined defenses like intellectualization and isolation. Lower-middle-class people are more likely to get stuck in a stage of "concrete cognitive operations" associated with low capacity for intellectual differentiation instead of advancing into "formal cognitive operations" with its high capacity for abstract thinking.

When George Wallace said his opponent was the kind of man who couldn't park a bicycle straight, he undoubtedly confirmed for a host of academic observers how concrete and primitive his concept of sucessful intellectual operations was.

Students in elite universities are described by psychologists as

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possessing many of the virtues that lower-middle-class authoritarians lack. These scholars frequently find that, among the elite students, radical activists have even greater moral and intellectual virtues than classmates from lower-class or more traditional families. If you examine the incidence of these virtues, they appear, not surprisingly, to cluster. It seems that psychologists are measuring something that has connected cognitive, moral and ego-defensive manifestations. This something is related to class.

The academic yardsticks measure virtues that, as they are defined, appear most frequently in the children of elite psychologists and their classmates: in the children of the upper middle and upper class.

These virtues do seem to be the consequence of further (although not necessarily higher) development than the virtues of the lower middle class; that is, one must go through the developmentally prior lower-middle-class virtues to reach the elite virtues. Repression, obedience to law and prompt acceptance of authority are more "primitive" ways of dealing with reality than intellectualization, reflection on principles before obeying a law, and skepticism toward authority. One psychologist has urged that upper-class virtues are better in a Platonic sense than lower-middle-class virtues. It is revealing that he does not recall that Plato would undoubtedly have restricted the practice of upper-class virtues to the upper class in his city, arguing that in the interest of harmony other virtues must be required of the lower classes.

Should we believe that the psychologists have discovered an empirical basis for distinguishing between more and less developed men? Should we believe that the developed men are superior? We can start with two broad possibilities. Either "further development" is the artifact of class blindness, and upper-class development is merely different from lower-class development; or upper-class development is subsequent to lower-class development. I think the weight of the argument suggests the latter.

If we opt for this possibility, we must then ask whether the further development is an achievement or a degeneration. Since this depends on our societal values, further choice is required: we can either compare directly the values of the further developed individual with the formal societal values or we can ask whether the

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survival of the formal societal values is enhanced by increasing the number of people whose personal values are similar to the formal values of the society.

This question forces us to be more specific about what we mean by the superiority of elite virtues in comparison with the virtues of the lower middle class. Recent analysts, lacking Plato's grasp of behavioral data and his rigorous empiricism, have been unrealistically idealistic in considering the consequences of changing a class distribution of virtues. That elite virtues are superior, Plato saw, does not mean that the society would be better or would even survive if all possessed them.

It may be that the lower-middle-class virtues provide operant support for a society that allows the upper class the luxury of elite virtues, much as Greek democracy was built on slave labor. I stress "operant support for American society" rather than "formal support of democracy" because the lower middle class is frequently denounced for disregarding formal democratic values such as regard for due process and for such freedoms as conscience, press, expression and movement.

Those who acclaim the elite radical virtues as superior to the virtues of the lower middle class would appear, if one admits that lower-class virtues provide operant support for American society, to have three alternatives. They can accept the distribution as necessary and good, in which case they espouse a troublesome elitism that cannot be reconciled with their radical views. Or they can argue that everyone should possess these virtues, in which case they are true radicals and should ask themselves whether they have considered in an unbiased light the implications of this position. Or they can do what I think most people do, which is largely to restrict—without admitting or even being conscious of the restriction—the practice of these superior virtues to the upper class.

The self-serving argument for upper-class hegemony then seems to be that the upper class is more intelligent, more moral and more finely tuned in its ego-defenses than the lower class and that this makes it more fit to govern and to preserve such democratic values as equal access. But in the name of the preservation of these values, elite virtues must be denied to the lower class because their use would be disruptive. To preserve the society that guarantees access

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to power to those who are virtuous, we must deny the possession of virtue to the lower class and thus deny the access we are theoretically preserving.

Leaving aside the hard choices that a believer in the superiority of radical virtues must make, we can ask in broader perspective what alternative stances one may take if it is true that an upper-class background leads to further moral and intellectual development. They appear to be—

1. In the existing world a "further developed" man may govern worse rather than better. A principled orientation can be disastrous in world politics, as the principled architects of the cold war have shown. An ability to empathize may lead to concessions in negotiation that will be misread by the Other Side as blanket willingness to retreat when faced with force. Capacity to see issues in all their complexity may lead to Hamlet-like paralysis when any action would be preferable to none.

2. The further development of the upper class might make it best qualified to rule, as its *de facto* supremacy proves. In a roughly democratic framework there is a chance for the few lower-class individuals who achieve upper-class virtues to rise to the top; that most leaders will be upper-class by birth is necessary and even desirable to preserve social stability and to reduce the anxieties that result from situations of volatile status change.

3. Upper-class individuals are further developed than lower-class individuals, and it is an indictment of our resource-rich society that more people are not brought into these higher stages of development. Analyses claiming that this would destabilize society are too contingent to win credence; the destabilization, moreover, might result in a better society instead of a worse one.

4. This "further development" is development along a path that may lead to the overspecialization and extinction of the human race. It accepts the dubious values of a capitalist Calvinism and conceals assumptions about what constitutes higher development that are disastrous both for the individual and the species (and are rejected by the hippie culture). This building up of surplus repression in ever higher capacities for intellectualization destroys capacities for feeling, for activity, for love. Elephantiasis of intellect and atrophy of emotion are mirrored in American society, where

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our intellectual industry, technology, produces the anti-ballistic missile and the death-dealing gadgetry of Vietnam while our feelings are too atrophied to insist that the logic of our priorities is insane. There is the atrophy of individual sensation inherent in eating Wonder Bread, watching Johnny Carson, and smelling Right Guard.

These are a few of the attitude-policy alternatives that acceptance of the psychologists' findings could lead us to. The third and fourth arguments, which would appeal to liberals and radicals to varying degrees, have in common a disregard for the contributions of the lower-middle-class virtues to what is good as well as what is bad in American society. Let us now ask whether this disregard is based on close analysis of what American society would look like if we all possessed the "superior" elite values, or whether it is the result of an upper-class blindness toward what this might mean.

Operant supports of American society, conservatives and radicals agree, are very different from the formal democratic virtues that guarantee the procedures of a democratic policy. In the course of a brilliant denunciation of some mandarinic American political scientists, Noam Chomsky quotes Tocqueville: "I know of no country in which there is so little independence and freedom of mind as in America." Chomsky adds: "Free institutions certainly exist, but a tradition of passivity and conformism restricts their use—a cynic might say this is why they continue to exist."

Although radicals often condemn American society by juxtaposing the "traditional American virtues" of respect for democratic procedure with current breaches of those procedures, it seems probable that historically American justice was at least as pock-marked as it is today and that the lower-middle-class virtues are the real "traditional" supports that Tocqueville observed when he came to see how American democracy functioned.

These virtues—law-and-order morality, acceptance of authority, cognitive processes that present issues in broad terms, ego-defenses that prefer the violence of hockey to the savagery of the seminar table—undoubtedly play a part in whatever orderliness there is in daily American life. They help people accept and carry out decisions that affect them adversely. They help make football a high-salience issue and foreign affairs a low-salience issue,

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leaving the President, who should be in a better position to decide, a good deal of freedom from mass pressures. In a number of ways, one could argue, they account for what is good as well as bad in American life. Conversely, elite virtues may account for more of the bad aspects of American life than is usually assumed.

Some upper-class radicals, we suggested above, are able to assume that elite virtues are preferable to lower-middle-class virtues across the board because they unconsciously restrict their idea of who should practice these virtues and to what end. Radical students and ghetto blacks, within limits, are the groups from whom these people expect a moral-principle orientation rather than law-and-order morality. Blacks and students are expected to practice skepticism toward authority. If, on the other hand, the colonels, the police, teamsters, longshoremen or garbage collecters practice prolonged skepticism toward constituted authority or act in accordance with their principles rather than in accordance with law-and-order morality, then the elite semiradicals have a vague sense that something must be done.

The upper class has reached a plateau of security from which its liberal-radical wing believes that it can mock the politics of the policeman and the butcher and slight their aspirations while still living genteelly in the space between them. I recall a personal example of how these assumptions sometimes work:

A few months ago some black children from the ghetto that is separated from Yale by the old people and students on my street made one of their biannual pilgrimages to Lake Place to break off all the aerials and windshield wipers on the cars. I was much more enraged the next morning about my car than I was about the distant and understandable riots that are filtered to me through the New York *Times*. I called the police largely, I suspect, because I wanted to be comforted by a typical policeman's observations on what-you-can-expect-from-*those*-kids. In my protected Eastern existence I had never passed through an overtly racist stage. But sometimes I suspect I get satisfaction from the racism of others: they can say what I cannot even think, and since their racism is so vulgar, I get to feel superior to them in the bargain.

The policeman, a likely young Italian, arrived. After surveying the damage, he said: "Mr. Lerner, I know how you feel; but you've

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got to take into account the kind of environment in which those children were raised. I mean, if you or I lived in the places they have to live in or went through the same experiences, you can imagine. . . ." I listened stunned. Here the man from whom I expected law-and-order morality was dishing out the moral-principled upper-class capacity to imagine oneself in the situation of the other. Like that of the unconsciously hypocritical radicals, my world depended on that kind of behavior being reserved for cocktail parties and seminars at which one comments from a discreet distance on the understandability of the behavior of ghetto blacks.

The hatreds do not go one way: ghetto blacks hate policemen, and policemen hate upper-class radicals. One hates one class up as well as one class down, although the hatred downward is more violent and the hatred upward mixed with aspiration. The natural alliance is between people a class apart who hate people in the middle for different reasons. This suggests why elite intellectuals, for all their analyzed self-awareness, show immediate "understanding" for the ghetto black's hatred of the policeman yet find police violence directed at a partially upper-class political demonstration a sure sign of incipient fascism.

Examine, on the other hand, the quality of the class-apart empathy radical whites have for ghetto blacks. The radicals are upper-middle-class youths with life histories of intellectual overcontrol. They have reached a point in their lives where, as Erik Erikson suggests, they can experiment with a little controlled regression-in-the-service-of-the-ego.

The response of a permissive upper-class parent, as reflected in the New York *Times,* is, "Society may have a great deal to learn from the hippies." Translated into jargon this might read: "Upper-class psychological controls may be too strict for changing psychosexual-social-historical realities. The young people experimenting with controlled regression may be showing the way in politics, drugs and sex to a new synthesis."

From the point of view of the young people *doing* the experimenting, the value is diminished if anyone stresses the "controlled" or even experimental nature of their quest. The regression or the liberation from overcontrol is what matters. To them the lowest class shows—by fact or projective romanticization or both—a life-

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style characterized by open use of the violence, sexuality and drugs that the experimenters find appealing.

The authenticity that the experimenters sense in the ghetto derives from the fact that lower-class violence and sexuality are not a consequence of tentative and strained regression in the service of the ego but represent a normal and stable class pattern deriving from social conditions, tension levels and prevalent primitive ego-defense organizations.

When elite intellectuals urge that authentic black life-styles not be contaminated by bourgeois values, they are asking that blacks not lose temporarily the values whites lost temporarily in the process of becoming elite. In other words, the old path is from lower-class undercontrol to lower-middle-class overcontrol to the upper-class luxury of reducing controls again. Upper-class whites like to think blacks can move from undercontrol to the partial control pattern that *they* find most socially pleasing without the middle step. They do not realize partial control is usually a step taken from the strength of a background of increasingly sophisticated and differentiated overcontrol.

This self-centeredness is reflected in the programs organized for the education of blacks by upper-class whites and by blacks who have assumed university values. These programs usually stress a freedom and lack of controls that is appropriate to the fantasies of their organizers but scarcely appropriate to those who have only had ghetto experience. It is no wonder that programs organized by lower-class blacks without the funding and guidance of whites—such as the Black Muslim program for narcotics addicts, and Black Muslim educational programs in general—stress that ghetto people must learn the capacity for tight control that has characterized Mayor Daley and every other individual and group that has competed successfully in American society.

Since lower-middle-class police are repelled by the uncontrolledness of the lower class from which their families have escaped, they are understandably infuriated by the regression to violence, drugs and sexuality in the class that expects their deference. The radical students and hippies are rejecting the values to which the lower middle class aspires and by which it is able to repress the behavior that the students are flaunting at it. When a

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Yippie girl pulls up her skirt in front of a lower-middle-class policeman and tells him that his trouble is that he has not had what she is baring in front of his face, one cannot expect an academically oriented response. And since every cocktail party psychologist would expect the police to be authoritarian, low in capacity for differentiation and scarcely able to maintain through primitive repression the violence in himself, why is the reaction to the police riot in Chicago so unbelievably un-understanding? Why do we expect that hippies and radicals and ghetto blacks can experiment with nonrestraint while the police must be models of restraint? Why can so few empathize with the frustrations of lower-middle-class life that have led to Chicago, to George Wallace and ultimately to the Presidency of Richard Nixon? It is because of the really astounding bigotry and narrowness of a class that prides itself on ridding itself of racism and having a broad perspective. There is little broad perspective in the words of the *Times* columnist who wrote in shocked tones, "Those were *our* children on the streets of Chicago." That *Times* columnist and the hip radicals did not understand a nation that approved of the police action in Chicago because its children were in the streets of Chicago, too. Its children were the police.

Racism and bigotry toward black people is frighteningly apparent at Yale. But at least the sore has been lanced and lies open. We can be aware of the ugly strains of societal racism still inside ourselves and our institutions, and we can stuggle against them.

The hidden, liberal-radical bigotry toward the lower middle class is stinking and covered. When a right-wing Italian announced for Mayor in New York, a brilliant professor in New Haven said, "If Italians aren't actually an inferior race, they do the best imitation of one I've seen." Everyone at the dinner table laughed. He could not have said that about black people if the subject had been Rap Brown.

The consequences of this bigotry are tragic. It would be less serious if it were not the product of an intellectually self-righteous class that is trying to provide functioning, *electable* alternatives to Richard Nixon and George Wallace. Those dissimilar men had the common intelligence and capacity for empathy—or shrewdness —to appeal to a genuinely forgotten and highly abused segment of

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the American population. It may be that only when radical intellectuals begin to show again, as they did in the 1930s, empathy for the hardships of lower-middle-class life and begin to integrate the aspirations of that class into their antiwar, antiracism framework, will it be possible to break up the Nixon alliance. Not until the upper middle class learns to deal with its own hidden bigotry will it be in a position to help destroy lower-middle-class bigotry as well.

NOTE: *The terms "radical," "semiradical," "left-liberal" and "liberal-to-radical" are used in reference to "elite," "upper class" and "upper-middle-class" students to refer to a broad but splintered and diverse group of people.*

M.L.

Scholarship

Lives of scholars all remind us
There's one way to spend our time
And departing leave behind us
Footnotes on the sands of time.

MARGARET MARSHALL

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A Modest Proposal for the Educating of Women

ELIZABETH L. CLESS

"WHY CAN'T A WOMAN be more like a man!" This musical complaint in *My Fair Lady* comes from the lips of Professor Higgins. Eight centuries of shaping higher education to meet the needs of men have produced a system that finds women at best a nuisance, at worst an irrelevance. Universities emerged under the wing of a medieval church that considered women an aberration and, barring a brief period during the Italian Renaissance, this attitude has continued to prevail.

Higher education in the United States was designed exclusively for the white, upper- or middle-class male. Its procedures, its rigid uninterrupted timetable, and its cost all but prohibit its use by women despite well-meaning, sometimes desperate, twentieth-century attempts to provide appropriate schooling for every qualified American citizen.

The masculine attitudes that govern the procedures and structures of American higher education are not consciously vicious, merely unexamined, discriminatory by inheritance.* Even thoughtful men, educational liberals, assume that the pattern that worked for them is, therefore, the best pattern for all humans; that if women are not able to realize their full intellectual potential

* If there is any doubt that American higher education is controlled by men, see John B. Parish, "Women in Top Level Teaching and Research," *Journal of the American Association of University Women,* 55 (January 1962).

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within existing academic procedures the fault lies with women, not with the structure. It is demonstrable that women, who make up half of American society, are not assuming their share of leadership. Many men, including Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, have raised an alarm about the declining proportion of women in management, technology and the professions. Many women retort with charges of discrimination. Both groups have verifiable evidence; both sincerely encourage women to accept responsibility for solving problems, creating beauty, healing the sick, building cities. Incredibly, neither group looks behind the scarcity of women in responsible positions to the educational fallacy that produces the scarcity.

Gestures toward coeducation in the nineteenth century consisted of little more than the addition of schools of home economics. The first excellent American women's colleges patterned themselves as closely as possible on the examples of Harvard and Yale. Unfortunately, as Eli Ginzberg has written in *Life Styles of Educated Women,* "Education for women was fashioned during the few generations when only a handful of female students had career objectives, and when even fewer women graduates pursued occupational goals after they were married." This mid-Victorian fashioning has left only two academic options, neither of them designed to bring out the best in today's woman who would be educated. On the one hand, if she wishes to become economically and socially productive, she must follow paths that Ginzberg suggests "are geared to the prototype of a man moving along steadily from one stage of educational and career development to the next, except for a possible interruption for military service; a prototype which is no longer valid, even for men." Or she yields to the siren song of a Victorian education meant for women perpetually sheltered against economic necessity or ambition.

The intelligent American woman cannot be, and does not want to be, like a man. And, whether we like it or not, she cannot, in our world, live a sheltered life of indulgence. She humanly demands the opportunity to be both a woman and a person. She wants to marry; to help her husband become successful; to bear and raise children. But she needs to do it in the context of the

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great, wide world, not in the semi-isolation of the P.T.A. and the car pool. More important, she must have the assurance that when her primary responsibility ceases to be the family she will be welcomed, and rewarded, in a less personal setting. Her valuable, equal and authoritative contribution to society must cease to be seen as a threat to, or diminution of, men's particular capabilities.

If a woman's marriage continues to be viewed by men as a sign of intellectual weakness, the number of women who choose not to marry may increase, now that spinsterhood no longer implies frustration. The equation of marriage and lack of intellectual motivation is implicit in the genteel "feminized" curricula of some colleges and, more destructively, in overt refusal of graduate schools to admit more than a token number of women "because they'll just get married, anyway." As if to prove their lack of bias most masculine heads of graduate departments or professional schools are loud in praise of the ability and dedication of their few women students, yet continue to sanction a frankly discriminatory admission quota. The result is a shortage of serious women students, which the country can ill afford.

Today, more than 75 percent (some estimates are as high as 95 percent) of all intellectually qualified youngsters who do not enter college are girls. Approximately 50 percent of all women who enter college drop out before receiving their first degrees. All the sources recently examined by Jencks and Riesman for *The Academic Revolution* suggest that women with B.A.'s are less than half as likely as men to earn a graduate degree, despite the fact that, on the average, they have better undergraduate records. Jessie Bernard's unimpeachable research on women who survive to become part of the prevailing educational system justifies her statement (in *Academic Women*): "Students of symbolism could undoubtedly explain why it is that colleges and universities are pictured as females. It is not immediately obvious."

The coeducational colleges, of course, have assumed that women are glad to accept masculine goals and procedures. It is a rare one that appoints its Dean of Women as a counsel on matters curricular, a rarer one that deliberately seeks a woman member for its top administration. Harold Taylor's glibness does not disguise

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the logic of his view of the situation: "[Women] . . . should be given the same inadequate education that men are given on the grounds that no matter how bad men's education is, women are entitled to it too."

Most segregated American women's colleges were founded to protect their students from masculine competition and distraction. The "tender flower" stereotype of women is a romantic male invention, as medical statistics prove. Submission and shelter are positive human necessities, common to both sexes; to base any educational system on them alone seems unrealistic.

Colleges cast in the Victorian mold offer glimpses of the life of the mind that tantalize the intelligent girl, but all too often frustrate her when she tries to translate that life of the mind into the life of the community. Many excellent protective women's colleges treasure the finishing aspect of their education to such a degree that their students intent on graduate or professional training must petition the faculty to be allowed to take the specialized courses necessary for graduate school admission. The antifeminist view that intensity of purpose in a woman is unnatural and therefore unladylike has been largely unexamined since the crinoline disappeared. It is treasured by many women (usually alumnae) and their teachers. Lazy women and wishful professors will undoubtedly perpetuate this view as long as society will pay for it.

In spite of current worship of the higher degree, the graduate and professional school picture is particularly bleak for aspiring women. According to a 1968 *Special Report on Women and Graduate Study*,* 72 percent of all women receiving the bachelor's degree in 1961 planned to attend graduate school and 76 percent of them had high academic records. By 1964, 42 percent had enrolled for graduate study, but only two-fifths of those were full-time students. Kenneth M. Wilson's similar study for the College Research Center at Vassar shows that 77 percent of all seniors in the class of 1966 in three quite different women's colleges had plans for postgraduate study, either immediately or later. An interesting fact, which we emphasize for later discussion, is that although 32.3

* *Resources for Medical Research, Report No. 13,* June 1968. U. S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, National Institutes of Health.

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percent of this group intended to go directly from college to graduate study, 44.7 percent expected to engage in graduate study at a later date.* Since 1940, there has been a decline of 16 percent in the number of women in professional and technical occupations, most of which require study beyond the B.A.

Statistics tell us that masculine-oriented education fails to capitalize on identifiable feminine ability. A search for the "why" of this failure is more subjective. To turn back to Jessie Bernard: ". . . A major grievance of men with respect to women . . . is that they refuse to compete for the values men set up . . . Willingness to compete is a sign that one accepts the values competed for." While men, in this rather negative way, encourage women to adopt their system, the woman who tries it is branded "aggressive." Intellectual aggressiveness, as a given basis for academic or economic success, is seen as a male virtue but a female vice. Later rewards for a woman's acceptance of the values men set up include neither the status nor the salary of men with comparable backgrounds. Many intelligent women opt out of higher education, rather than risk the emotional punishment incurred by a woman who dares to enter a system built by men for men.

The primary problem for women is the timing of higher education. The expectation that the years between eighteen and twenty-five will be devoted to uninterrupted study and career choice works well for men. The average age of marriage for an American woman is twenty. Her last child is born when she is twenty-six. (We all know of women who manage to take that final exam on the way to the delivery room. This may encourage wisdom, but leaves much to be desired as a deliberate educational technique.) Professional literature recognizes that girls, having intellectually outperformed boys in prepuberty, often fall behind the boys at the very time that the need of both boys and girls for higher education is assumed. Karem Monsour, a psychiatrist, suggests, in *Education and a Woman's Life,* that a woman cannot be educated

* The N.I.H. Report adds a significant dimension to approximately the same statistical finding; women of low socio-economic status are most likely to plan graduate study (78 percent as against 67 percent with high socio-economic status). However, 59 percent of those women expected to have to delay their entrance to graduate school. The lesson for financial aid offices is clear.

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effectively when she is in love or having a baby. If we want to capture a woman's abstract imagination, perhaps she should not be forced, during the peak years of her reproductive life, into an intellectual structure that ignores her psychosomatic difference from men. Striking evidence has appeared in programs of women's continuing education that no matter how well a girl of eighteen to twenty-one performs in college, she does better when she returns to formal study after the age of thirty.

Procedural custom seldom allows the free flow of students in and out of colleges and universities at times of individual, rather than institutional, choice. Educational record-keeping, methods of student evaluation, entrance procedures, all are predicated on the masculine habit of uninterrupted progress from kindergarten to the highest professional degree—with a year or two out to earn money, serve in the armed forces or with VISTA, perhaps, but never with fifteen years out to raise a family.

The prevailing request, on college admissions forms, for letters of evaluation from recent teachers serves to illuminate the system that locks in the most imaginative college officers and locks out older students. College presidents themselves have been heard to admit that they would not now be considered for entrance to their own institutions if they had to present their high school transcripts and take the scholastic aptitude tests required of incoming freshmen. SATs are not all that difficult, but they rest on the supposition that the examinee has recently studied a defined set of facts. The Educational Testing Service has been experimenting, for the College Entrance Examination Board, with college-level examinations to test "untraditionally" acquired knowledge, in an effort to certify adults for further formal study after a period of years away from the classroom. The lack of attention and the misinterpretation with which these experiments have been met in admissions offices are sad proof of the sanctity of our locked-in, inherited single-form system.

The residence requirement for a degree is an anachronism that militates against the able woman in a mobile society. A young woman may have fulfilled her requirement at college A before she married. Following her new husband to another part of the

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country, she tranfers to college B and begins to rack up the necessary credits in residence again, since B has its own requirement and will not accept time served at A. Her husband is moved again. When college C insists that residence at colleges A and B is useless for its degree, and her original admitting college refuses its degree if completed *in absentia,* a sensible—and sensitive—young woman becomes a weary dropout.

The simple transfer of credits from one college to another poses a related problem. The unacceptability of tested knowledge obtained at another institution is justified parochially as protection of the "ethos" of a specific college's degree. "Ethos" is expendable. Education cannot depend upon sentiment. Accreditation is the official seal of approval issued to educational institutions by one of the six Regional Accreditation Commissions of Higher Education, composed of educators from that specific region. These six watchdogs of academic quality are linked in a national federation where, one gathers, fairly uniform standards of academic quality are agreed upon. Given these circumstances of voluntary submission to the periodic scrutiny of one's peers, it might be expected that credit for similar courses at different institutions would be automatically interchangeable among accredited colleges or universities; that prerequisites for advanced courses would be mutually acceptable; that requirements for the field of concentration would be similar. The fallacy of this assumption would seem to lie in its simplicity. The educational penalty for mobility is not simple.

Colleges and universities pay much lip service to the "learning of living" but most of them still jealously refuse to consider credit for nonclassroom learning. This means that a woman leaving the lecture hall to be married at twenty and returning at thirty-two, when her last child enters the first grade, presumably has learned nothing in the intervening twelve years that could be measured and recorded as progress toward a diploma. With increased life expectancy and sustained vigor there is no valid reason why one cannot profitably begin either undergraduate or graduate study at the age of thirty-five. Colleges and universities must begin to look for ways to utilize nonclassroom learning within the degree

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system if older women are to ease existing and predicted shortages of professional manpower. It is possible to give academic credit for experience gained outside the classroom—as colleges honoring VISTA, the Peace Corps, and ghetto tutoring are finding; as Antioch, Bennington and Berea have demonstrated for years. Able women may deserve advanced educational placement when they return to formal education after work in the League of Women Voters, a cooperative nursery school or a secretarial job. Colleges and universities concerned with the education of women will have to admit that raising a family and serving a community are learning experiences as valid in fact, if not in kind, as sitting in a history classroom or standing in a biology laboratory.

The compulsive uninterrupted full-time study sequence of high school, bachelor's degree, then the master's degree followed by the Ph.D., M.D. or LL.D., can be broken, or pursued more slowly, with no diminution of quality. Part-time study must be recognized as natural, desirable and just as effective as full-time study. Higher education, at all levels, must cease its current punishment of failure to follow an academic pattern consecutive in time and specialized in content, if able women are to contribute fully to the future. Far from damaging the excellence of education, an acceptance that the intellectually productive periods of a woman's life may be different in time from those of a man will produce a response from the feminine student to her preceptors that is impossible when that student is forced into an ill-fitting masculine mold. We can accept the different life patterns of men and women while rewarding them equally for planned, purposeful progression.

It is impossible for a young woman in her late teens or early twenties to know where, or exactly how, she will be living for the rest of her life. She may not be able to plan the details of her future, but she can be helped to see the general pattern into which most women's lives now fall. She—and we—must be reminded constantly that there is no longer an option between marriage or a career. The girl of sixteen to twenty-five is so physiologically determined to perpetuate the human race that she consistently underrates the importance and the potential of her intellect.

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Marriage in these years now often eclipses educational plans entirely. Final career choice at this stage seems usually to be made at a much lower level than the woman's basic ability would dictate. Current research is beginning to suggest that the growth of normal intelligent women includes a marked change of intellectual interest sometime between the ages of thirty and forty. This suggests that professional choice should be tentative for many until their middle years. The girl who has purpose enough to be single-minded about her professional direction early in life must, of course, be given every opportunity to move through the educational system swiftly and effectively.

The last hundred years have been spent verifying the fact that women can indeed meet the intellectual demands of men's education. The testing has been done. There is no doubt left about the equal educability of men and women. Gordon Blackwell has said, ". . . we are, therefore, now able to move from the proving ground to the experimental field of education for women." The optional content, and the quality, of education for men and women must be the same. But men and women are not the same, any more than all men are the same, or all women are the same.

Procedural flexibility to meet individual differences is possible. Undergraduate colleges must assume lifelong academic counseling responsibility for their entering students. By the simple fact of admission, a college indicates its confidence in the potential of the young woman student; it therefore cannot abandon responsibility for that student as she leaves the campus for marriage, for motherhood or for a job. Whenever, and wherever, a woman wishes to resume formal education, her original admitting college must stand ready to encourage and facilitate that return. This means an immediate joint attack by all responsible institutions concerned with women's education at every level on the problems of admissions procedures, credit transfer, residence requirements, and informal accumulation of learning. It means a new approach to record-keeping, perhaps a national academic credit bank under the auspices of the Federation of Accreditation Commissions.

The United States Department of Labor predicts that the now young American woman who never marries can expect to

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have a paying job for forty years; the woman who does marry will work outside her home for thirty years, some of them undoubtedly on a part-time basis. The undigested challenge for education is that most women who now join the labor force do so after the age of thirty-five, in jobs well below their capability. Higher education, particularly at its upper levels, lacks techniques that would encourage able, sophisticated women to qualify for professional and managerial positions where severe shortages exist and will continue. Colleges, graduate and professional schools should be the obvious places to learn the flexibility and adaptability that women must find over and over again. But to teach such traits, institutions must first embrace them.

American educators, under pressure, are creating new opportunities for the economically and culturally underprivileged. Women, the intellectually and occupationally underprivileged, suffer in comparative safety; indeed, many of them are taught to prefer educational deprivation, which allows them to avoid the social responsibility required by a changing world. Perhaps as a result, women seldom are mentioned in plans for new educational opportunity, except as they share minority ethnic characteristics with men. The existing scarcity of serious women students, both under and over twenty-five, with its attendant damage to the social mechanism of our future, is another result of that lack of empathy and foresight that denied education to children of the poor, the black, the inhabitant of the reservation.

Some women have made it through men's educational system, often, it is stated, at the price of the femininity men claim to value. Women, single and married, value their real femininity, too, and cannot lose it through exercise of the mind. Men—and women—correctly infer that willingness to accept man's educational patterns shows lack of pride in that femininity. Therefore this modest proposal. The alternative—the educated woman receiving recognition only as a pseudo man—appeals to women no more than it does to men. Professor Higgins must not be given tenure!

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Dead Neck

MEREDITH LUYTEN

A windy plateau
brittle with split shells,
the blinding whiteness of salt
and water on three sides.

Dead Neck. Too far for a picnic
but the litter of food everywhere
flown in from the water. One shell
is always shattered—like crystal
by a needle, or a high note—
the bill falls with such precision. The other half
intact and inside up. A cleaned dish
has an immaculate curve.

Once a soft lip
flamed in this jaw. I dove
and saw the blue jewels quivering,
the invitation.
Hermit crabs and a thousand
jostling snails told how
prosperous death was.

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The Black Revolution and the Economic Future of Negroes in the United States

ANDREW F. BRIMMER

IN THE TURMOIL currently sweeping our society, we are not simply being plagued by a rash of bitter and violent disorders without cause, meaning or goals. Rather we are witnesses to—and in many instances warriors in—a campaign aimed at a fundamental reformation of American society. Some call it a revolution. At the core of the drive to reform our society (whatever other elements may be stressed from time to time) is the pervasive and agonizing question of race. Thus, no matter what other adjectives we may use to characterize the vigorous quest for change, we must also describe it as a black revolution—a basic upheaval about the role of race in this country.

I will not recite the catalogue of ills that underlie the patina of racial equality and that render the United States a racist society. Whatever index of social and economic conditions we choose (education, employment, housing, health, *et cetera*) tells the same story; the legacy of racial discrimination and segregation is real, and the scars it has inflicted on all our citizens are deep and enduring. But undoubtedly the most corrosive burden has been borne by the American Negro for more than three hundred years. Rather than devoting all of my remarks to a passionate condemnation of the conditions that foster racial strife in this country, or dwelling on the mosaic of urban disorganization and decay—

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equally inlaid with poverty, segregation and racial conflict, I have chosen here to travel a different route. But so that I will not be misunderstood, let me say that I am unalterably opposed to any kind of racial discrimination or segregation in whatever form it may appear. I have heard no convincing reasons as to why we must continue to suffer the steady deterioration of our cities or tolerate the persistence of poverty in the most prosperous land in the world. So I fully appreciate the need—and support strongly the efforts—to press on with these unfinished tasks.

I have chosen a somewhat different approach here because I believe we should pause from time to time to take stock of the distance we have already covered and to survey the terrain ahead. Only by such periodic checks can we be sure to stick to our main route and avoid digressing into byways and blind passages that can lead only to disappointment and frustration.

Despite the ferment surrounding the quest for change, particularly on the college campuses of our nation, I believe that it is not only still possible but essential to carry on a sane and unsentimental discussion of the prospects for progress in American society. Since my own perspective on this society is derived primarily from the experience of an economist, I will focus on the outlook for the economy over the next decade, with particular stress on the unfolding opportunities for equal participation that our expanding economy can be expected to provide.

Recent Economic Progress in the Black Community

During the decade of the 1960s, Negroes have made sizable economic gains—although they still lag well behind the population as a whole. This progress is evident whether defined in terms of employment, changing occupational characteristics, education or income.

For example, between 1960 and 1967, nonwhite employment (more than 90 percent of which is made up of Negroes) rose more rapidly than employment in the country at large. In 1960, nonwhites held 7 million (or 10.5 percent) of the more than 66 million civilian jobs then in existence. By 1967, total civilian employment exceeded 74 million, and nonwhite employment had risen to 8 million. Thus, while total employment increased by

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11.5 percent, that for nonwhites rose by 14 percent. Over these seven years, the rise in the number of jobs held by nonwhites accounted for 12.6 percent of the expansion in total employment.

The occupational distribution of employed Negroes has also changed somewhat during the current decade. Gains have been particularly striking in professional and technical fields, in clerical work, in semiskilled factory jobs, and in nonhousehold service tasks. Skilled craftsman occupations among nonwhites have also increased somewhat faster than their total employment. In contrast, the number of nonwhites engaged as managers, officials and proprietors has expanded more slowly than total nonwhite employment. To a considerable extent, the occupational upgrading among nonwhites has paralleled an absolute decline in their employment as private household workers, as farmers and farm workers, and as nonfarm laborers. In general—and what is much more important, in those occupations where total employment is growing most rapidly—the rate of growth of nonwhite employment has been even faster; and in those occupations where total employment is declining, nonwhite employment is showing an even swifter decline.

Nevertheless, nonwhites are still heavily concentrated in low-skilled, low-paying occupations. In part, this reflects the educational deficiencies and the absence of skills of a sizable proportion of the Negro population. But racial discrimination and limited access to job opportunities are in part responsible. This is clearly indicated by a recent estimate prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of what the occupational structure for white and nonwhite men would be if ". . . at each given education level Negroes had the same opportunity for employment as white workers." If this greater occupational equality were to exist, the largest relative percentage gains for nonwhites would occur among craftsmen (the proportion of which would just about double) and among managers and proprietors (where a threefold increase might be registered). The relative proportion of service workers would be cut by one-half, and the percentage of nonfarm laborers would decline by two-thirds. Little change would be expected to occur in the proportion of nonwhite men employed in professional and technical occupations.

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Trends in Personal Income

Reflecting these favorable trends in employment and occupations, the personal income of nonwhites has risen substantially in both absolute and relative terms. In 1959, the median income of nonwhite families was $2,917; by 1967, this had risen to $5,141—a gain of 76 percent. For all families, median income climbed from $5,417 in 1959 to $7,974 in 1967, an increase of 47 percent. For white families, the corresponding figures were $5,643 in 1959 and $8,274 in 1967, also a rise of 47 percent. Over these years, the ratio of nonwhite to white median family income rose from 52 to 62 percent with a particularly sharp rise occurring after 1965 (when the ratio was 55 percent).

In fact, the last few years have brought noticeable improvement in the income position of Negroes, looked at apart from other nonwhites. In 1965, for example, the median family income of Negroes stood at 54 percent of that for white families. By 1967, the median family income of Negroes amounted to $4,939, and that for white families was $8,318. Thus, the ratio had risen to 59 percent. So, in three years, Negroes had managed to narrow the gap by five percentage points—or by roughly 11 percent.

The improvement in income was spread rather evenly throughout the country. The narrowest gap between white and Negro family incomes was found in the North Central region. In these states the median income for Negroes in 1967 amounted to $6,540, compared with $8,414 for whites—a ratio of 78 percent; in 1965 the ratio was 74 percent. In the South, the median income for white families in 1967 stood at $7,448 and that for Negroes at $3,992—for a Negro-white ratio of 54 percent, compared with 49 percent in 1965. In passing, it might be noted that not only do median incomes of both white and Negro families in the South lag behind the incomes of both groups, respectively, in the rest of the nation, but the greatest disparity between Negro and white family incomes is also found there.

Undoubtedly, one of the prime factors underlying the improvement in the income position of the Negro community in the nation as a whole is the continued progress being made in education. In 1967 the median years of school completed by nonwhite men (who were eighteen years of age and over, and who were in

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the labor force) stood at 10.2 years; for white men the corresponding number was 12.3 years, a difference of 2.1 years. In 1957, however, the median years of schooling for nonwhite men were 8.0 years, and for white men the figure was 11.5 years, a gap of 3.5 years. In fact, by 1962, the gap was still 3.1 years, so progress has been particularly rapid within the current decade when the differential has been cut by almost one-half. Among nonwhite women, educational progress has been even more marked. In 1967, the median years of school completed by nonwhite women in the labor force were 11.5 years, compared with 12.4 years for white women —a difference of only 0.9 years. In 1957, the corresponding figures were 8.9 years for nonwhite females and 12.2 years for white females, a gap of 3.3 years. In 1962, the measures stood at 10.5 years for nonwhite women and at 12.3 years for white women, a difference of 1.8 years. Thus, within this decade the educational attainment of nonwhite women has converged even more sharply than that of nonwhite men on their respective counterparts. In citing these trends, I am not implying that the quality of the education obtained by whites and nonwhites is equally good. We know that the opposite is generally true. Nevertheless, improvements in education have made a difference in the relative income gains won by nonwhites.

Just how much difference improvements in education can make can be traced in the changes in the median incomes of Negro and white men, classified by years of schooling completed, who were living in large cities in 1959 and 1967. The figures (from the Bureau of the Census) are as follows:

Years of Schooling	Median Income: Negro Men			Median Income: White Men		
	1959	1967	Percentage Increase	1959	1967	Percentage Increase
Elementary:						
8 yrs. or less	$3,428	$4,215	23	$5,137	$5,658	10
High School:						
1–3 yrs.	4,059	5,086	25	5,788	6,748	17
4 yrs.	4,323	5,642	31	6,265	7,543	20
College:						
1 yr. or more	5,022	7,025	40	7,686	9,222	20
4 yrs. or more	n. a.	7,556	n. a.	8,486	10,261	21

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Several conclusions can be drawn from these data. Between 1959 and 1967, the higher the level of education, the more rapid was the rise in median income for both Negro and white men. The relative increases for Negroes, however, were one and a half to two times as large as those achieved by white men. In 1959, Negro men with eight years or less of schooling had a median income equal to about 70 percent of that for Negro men who had one year or more of college; by 1967, the ratio had fallen to 60 percent. For white men in the same circumstances, the income ratio declined from 67 to 61 percent. In 1967, men with only an elementary school education had median incomes just over half of those earned by those in their respective races who had completed four years or more of college. During the decade of the 1960s, white men with high school educations pulled away somewhat, in relative income terms, from those who went only to grade school, and they just about maintained unchanged the gap between themselves and white men who went to college. Among Negro men, those with high school educations also pulled away, in relative income terms, from Negro men who went only to elementary school; the gap between their incomes and the incomes of Negro men who went to college, however, widened further, for the ratio declined from 86 percent to 80 percent.

These data clearly demonstrate that income for whites and Negroes has been rising most rapidly for those with college educations. Among Negroes, the gains—in both absolute and relative terms—have been the greatest at the highest levels of education. In fact, within the Negro community income differentials have tended to widen in recent years, while within the white community income differentials seem to have remained unchanged or narrowed slightly. These tendencies can be traced in the Bureau of the Census data showing the percentage share of aggregate income received by each fifth of families, ranked by income and by the color of the family head.

In examining the figures for selected years shown opposite, the first thing to note is that the distribution of income is by no means equal in either the white or nonwhite community. If it were, each fifth of the families would receive 20 percent of the aggregate income in each year. In reality, however, only those families around

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Families	1959	1962	1965	1967
White				
Percent				
Lowest fifth	5.5	5.5	5.6	5.8
Second fifth	12.6	12.4	12.5	12.5
Middle fifth	17.8	17.6	17.5	17.5
Fourth fifth	23.4	23.5	23.4	23.5
Highest fifth	40.8	41.1	40.8	40.7
Top 5 percent	16.1	16.0	15.5	14.9
Nonwhite				
Percent				
Lowest fifth	3.9	4.2	4.6	4.4
Second fifth	9.6	10.4	10.7	10.4
Middle fifth	16.5	16.6	16.5	16.4
Fourth fifth	25.1	24.4	24.7	24.1
Highest fifth	44.9	44.2	43.5	44.7
Top 5 percent	16.4	16.3	15.5	17.5

and just above the middle of the distribution come close to receiving approximately this proportion of the total income. The families constituting the lowest fifth receive between 4 to 6 percent of the income, while those in the highest fifth receive over 40 percent of the total. This general pattern of income distribution holds for both white and nonwhite families.

But a look beyond these overall characteristics will show that, within the nonwhite community, the distribution of income is considerably more unequal. Among nonwhites, from the lowest through the middle fifth, for each of the years shown, the proportion of aggregate money income received by the families in each category is below that for the white community. The opposite is true for nonwhite families above the middle fifth; their share is greater than that received by white families in the same category. The same tendency is evident when the top 5 percent of the families with the highest incomes in both groups are compared.

In the last few years, moreover, incomes within the nonwhite community have apparently become even more unequally distributed. The shares of income received by those households at or below the middle fifth of families have been eroded slightly, while the shares received by the highest fifth and by the top 5 percent have edged up somewhat. In the white community, the op-

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posite tendencies are evident. These figures seem to underline a conviction held by an increasing number of observers. A basic schism has developed in the black community, and it may be widening year by year. Whatever one may offer as explanation, the differential impact of educational progress within the Negro community must, in my opinion, be accorded considerable weight.

Economic Outlook for the American Negro

I fully recognize the hazards of attempting to forecast economic activity. To make such a forecast is not my principal objective. My chief purpose rather is to appraise the implications for Negroes of a number of economic trends that are already clearly visible. For example, we have a good indication of the most likely trends in population and labor force participation over the next decade. Given a few reasonable assumptions about the overall rate of economic growth, we can be fairly certain of the trends in the level and occupational distribution of employment, and in the level and distribution of personal income between the white and black communities.

Population Trends

Our firmest estimates are for the population. Negroes will constitute a larger proportion of the population, reaching a total of approximately 32.5 million in 1980. This would represent an increase of 10.5 million, or 48 percent, from 1968. The total population has been projected by the Bureau of the Census at about 243 million in 1980, a gain of 45 million, or 23 percent, over 1968. Thus, the Negro population is expected to account for nearly one-quarter of the net increase in the nation's population during the period 1968-1980, lifting the Negro proportion from 11 percent of the total in 1968 to 13.4 percent in 1980. These projections assume a lower fertility rate than is current. The decrease in fertility, however, is expected to occur mainly among the white population. The result is a divergence in the rate of population growth for the two groups.

Outlook for the Labor Force

During the next decade, the labor force participation rate for

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nonwhites is expected to remain essentially unchanged at approximately 60 percent. On this assumption, about 12.2 million nonwhites would be in the labor force in 1980, compared with 9.1 million in 1968. This represents an expansion of roughly one-third, compared with an expansion of about one-quarter between 1956 and 1968. Since the total labor force in 1980 might be in the neighborhood of 101 million, nonwhites would constitute 12 percent of the work force by the end of the next decade, compared with 11.0 percent in 1968.

This large growth in the total labor force and the even faster increase for Negroes will be accompanied by several dramatic changes in composition. For instance, over 23.7 million members of the labor force are expected to be under twenty-five years of age in 1980, a significantly higher proportion than in 1968. Although more and more young people in the next decade will undoubtedly want to work in order to continue in school, the influx into the full-time work force of teen-agers clearly will be substantial. Moreover, an increasing proportion of these teen-agers will be nonwhites. This prospect will pose a continuous challenge to the nation to provide appropriate employment opportunities at decent wages. But it will also put a heavy burden on Negro youths to acquire marketable skills. As we know, the impact of unemployment among teen-agers—and especially among nonwhite teen-agers—has been particularly severe. For example, while the unemployment rate of the total labor force was down to 3.6 percent in 1968, it was still 12.6 percent for all teen-agers and 24.9 percent for nonwhite youth. There will also be sharp increases in the number of adult women in the labor force. By 1980, it is estimated that there will be about 7 million more women working or looking for work than in 1968, a large proportion of whom will be interested in full-time work.

Trends in Output and Income, 1968-1980

By 1980 the United States will have a $1.4 trillion economy if the economy grows in real terms at an average annual rate of 4 percent. This would represent an increase of 50 percent in the real output of goods and services in the 1970s. Expressed in per capita terms, Gross National Product would be about $5,650 in

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1980 against $4,274 last year—thus rising by about one-third during this period.

What does this growth of output imply for Negroes? Although we have no direct way to identify their share of G.N.P., we do have a fairly good measure of the aggregate money income earned by Negroes as defined by a Bureau of the Census series that distinguishes between income recipients according to color. In 1967, aggregate money income as measured by this series amounted to $487 billion. Of this amount, $451 billion was earned by the white population, and $35.7 billion was received by nonwhites, representing 7.3 percent of the total. In 1956 the income of the nonwhite population amounted to $14 billion or 5.7 percent of the total. During recent years the share of aggregate money income received by nonwhites has been increasing. If we assume that the same annual increase in the proportion received by nonwhites during the period 1956-1967 continues during the next decade, nonwhites would receive about 8.8 percent of aggregate money income in 1980. If present overall trends continue, aggregate money income might amount to $843 billion in 1980, expressed in 1968 prices. The division might be $769 billion accruing to the white population and $74 billion accruing to nonwhites.

Thus, during the 1970s, sizable gains will undoubtedly be registered in the aggregate money income of nonwhites as well as for whites, but the relative improvement for nonwhites will probably be substantially greater. This can be seen most clearly when the income figures are expressed in per capita terms. In 1967 aggregate money income per head was $2,460; it was $2,590 for whites and $1,510 for nonwhites. By 1980 the total may rise to $3,465 per capita. The corresponding figures for whites and nonwhites may be about $3,648 and $2,277, respectively. Consequently, for whites aggregate money income might increase by 40 percent; but for nonwhites, the gain in per capita terms might be as much as 50 percent.

Occupational Changes and the Demand for Skills

Behind this outlook for employment and income are significant prospective changes in the economy's demand for skills. These forthcoming changes will have serious implications for Negroes.

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For example, if nonwhite jobs continue to gain in the 1970s at the pace recorded during the last decade, their occupational distribution in 1980 will be substantially different from what it is today. While nonwhites might constitute about 12 percent of the total labor force in 1980, they may hold over 10 percent of the professional and technical jobs compared with just under 6 percent in 1967. They also may have raised their share of the managerial, official and proprietory occupations from 2.8 percent in 1967 to nearly 4 percent in 1980. Sizable gains probably would also have been recorded in the clerical, sales and craftsman occupations. Nonwhites might continue to provide about the same proportion of farm workers and laborers, while a noticeable decline may have occurred in the proportion of service jobs held by them.

These changes would have a striking impact on the distribution of occupations within the nonwhite community. For instance, professional and technical workers in 1975 might constitute about 12 percent of the nonwhite labor force compared with 7.4 percent in 1967. The ratio probably will have risen further by 1980. While this proportion in 1975 would still be below the 15 percent expected for whites in the same year, the relative shift is unmistakable. The managerial group might account for about 3 percent of the nonwhite labor force in 1975 compared with 2.6 percent in 1967. Here also the percentage can be expected to climb further by 1980. A substantially higher proportion of the nonwhite labor force probably would be employed in the clerical and sales fields. As already indicated, most of the relative shift will be away from the blue-collar and unskilled occupations. The expected decline among nonfarm laborers is especially striking. The percentage of the nonwhite labor force so engaged may shrink from 11 percent in 1967 to less than 10 percent by 1975—and to an even smaller proportion by 1980.

Associated with—and partly responsible for—these improvements in the occupational distribution of the nonwhite population is the expectation of substantial further progress in their educational achievement. If the trend of the increase in the median years of schooling for both whites and nonwhites recorded during the period 1952 to 1967 continues during the decade of the 1970s, the gap between the two will have been narrowed considerably.

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On this assumption, by 1980, nonwhite women on the average may have completed about 12.1 years of schooling compared with 12.6 years for white women. This would mean that the educational differential would have shrunk from 0.9 years in 1967 to only 0.5 years in favor of white women. Among nonwhite men, the median years of schooling may have risen to 11.4 years by 1980, compared with 12.8 years for white men, further narrowing the gap to about 1.4 years compared with a gap of 1.9 years in 1967. Substantial improvement can be expected, moreover, in the quality of education received by Negroes over the next decade.

College Education and the Economic Progress of the Black Community

Sadly, however, just at the time when the outlook for greater participation by Negroes in the national economy is improving considerably, a number of digressions are appearing that may lead astray some of our most promising young people.

We can encounter on an increasing number of college campuses a myopic view that holds that black students really do not need to concern themselves with a good part of the curriculum offered by a typical undergraduate college. Many students and faculty members argue that courses and programs should be recast to concentrate on such subjects as urban problems, the eradication of racism, the enhancement of the black man's cultural image, and the widening of knowledge of his heritage among members of a predominantly white society. Parallel to—and reinforcing—this view is a spreading tendency among many black students to isolate themselves into separate enclaves and to minimize contact with whites. In my judgment, these developments are not only shortsighted; they are inimical both to Negro students themselves and to the Negro community at large.

In expressing this criticism, I am not unaware of the need for a thorough reform of much of the curriculum offered by even our best institutions. Through serving on several college governing boards and advisory committees, I see a good deal of campus life. I have spent a fair proportion of my professional life in college teaching, and—through lectures and seminars—I still participate frequently in the intellectual environment of the campus.

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Through discussions with students, faculty members and college administrators, I am convinced that in most institutions numerous courses and programs are seriously out of date. But I am also convinced that in most colleges and universities—undoubtedly spurred to a considerable degree by persistent pressure for change on the part of students and junior faculty members—the process of modernization is underway and can be expected to accelerate.

What concerns me most are the consequences that some of the campus innovations imply for black students and for the Negro community as a whole. In particular, I am greatly disturbed by the proliferation of programs variously described as "black studies" or "Afro-American studies" and by the growing tendency of many Negro students to concentrate in such areas or to substitute such courses for more traditional subjects in undergraduate programs (especially in the social sciences and humanities). So far only a few colleges apparently have established degree programs in these fields, but a sizable number of institutions do accept them as appropriate for minors or secondary concentration.

In my judgment, Negro students should be extremely cautious about devoting their college careers to a concentration on "black studies" or "Afro-American studies." I can well understand the bitterness and frustration they may feel about the lack of awareness of the major contributions that black people have made not only to American society but to the world at large. I can also appreciate their eagerness to equip themselves to work effectively in the improvement of the urban environment in which most of them will live once they leave college. Nevertheless, they should have no illusions about the extent to which they are likely to acquire in "black studies" programs the mental discipline, technical skills and rigorous training in problem-solving that they will so desperately need in their future careers.

Black students—along with all other students—must accept the fact that there is no real alternative to thorough grounding in the technical underpinnings of the subject they may choose as a major. And whatever may be their field of concentration, they really must learn to read and to write and to speak effectively—and they just have to achieve some degree of understanding in mathematics and the other so-called hard sciences. In addition,

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they certainly will need some acquaintance with the social sciences —especially with the subject matter of economics, sociology and political science.

One encounters far too few faculty members on college campuses these days who are willing to face black students and insist that they take a meaningful and realistic view of the requirements of a college education. More and more of the key faculty members in many institutions—and often they are among the most sensitive and responsive—seem to be accepting (in some cases completely and in others with only slight modifications) whatever "demands" for program and other changes black students may propose. Rarely does one see faculty members (in whose hands a college curriculum must rest) coming forth to tell black students that some of their proposals and views are simply nonsense—as some of them certainly are. One gets the distinct impression that, on the predominantly white college campus, faculty and administrators are showing considerable panic in their relations with black students. In the typical case, there are few—if any—Negroes on the campus with college or professional training who can offer advice and counsel, and so provide a somewhat more considered perspective on the environment of the American Negro today and the outlook for the years ahead.

Many college faculties, perhaps unconsciously, are accepting the untested views of black students (only occasionally tempered by the benefit of an off-campus review) about the character and content of a college education that has meaning for American Negroes. In the process, they may be helping to create a series of sheltered workshops in which black students languish during a considerable part of their college careers and then leave the campus ill-equipped to perform in a world that is placing an increasingly heavy premium on technical skills and a vigorous intellect. On the mistaken assumption that they are being relevant and responsive, many of our college faculties are creating facilities that may cripple young people—rather than strengthen their ability to compete in an economy of expanding opportunities.

If colleges really want to be helpful to many young people who truly need assistance and guidance, they should devote themselves to attracting more students from low income areas—both

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urban and rural—a step that would clearly require a considerable expansion in their scholarships and other forms of financial assistance. And, once these students are on campus, they should be provided with special counseling and other remedial assistance to enable them to overcome the handicaps imposed by inferior high schools and to master even the toughest parts of the college curriculum. Under no circumstances should the colleges provide them with college-supported segregated housing either on or off campus—as unfortunately some institutions are currently doing. After all, the opportunity to broaden one's own horizon is one of the chief benefits of a college experience.

These problems are most acute on predominantly white campuses, but they also exist on predominantly black campuses as well. We hear from time to time about the resentment and rejection many black students on such campuses have shown toward the few white students who have enrolled in recent years. Such practices are especially dismaying; one would have thought that people who have suffered themselves from the corrosive effects of racial discrimination and segregation would be the last to inflict such pain on others.

Conclusion

In my judgment, the foregoing analysis strongly suggests that, if the rate of improvement registered during the last decade continues, the Negro in the 1970s will strengthen substantially his relative position in the American economy. His employment situation will be much stronger, and his real income will be considerably higher. The opportunities to share as a full participant in an expanding economy also will have widened noticeably.

These possible gains are by no means assured, though. A far greater effort—on the part of Negroes as well as on the part of government and the private sector generally—will be required if the promises are to be fulfilled. For Negroes, and especially for Negro youth, this greater effort must be concentrated on the improvement of technical competence, the acquisition of marketable skills and the enhancement of their ability to compete in an economy of expanding opportunity.

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Some Notes on S.D.S.

MICHAEL KAZIN

We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted on the suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they promise any substantial reform. . . . They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives and children on the altar of Mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires . . . we seek to restore the government of the Republic to the hands of the "plain people," with whose class it originated. We assert our purpose to be identical with the purposes of the national constitution: To form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity.

—from the People's Party platform, 1892

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

—Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

LESS THAN TEN YEARS AGO in this country, enjoying rock 'n' roll music and wearing tight pants were considered revolutionary pursuits. The only activities the American Left engaged in that got any public attention at all were protests against nuclear testing and sporadic attempts to expose and defeat the remnants of McCarthyism. When the moribund student affiliate of the social democratic League for Industrial Democracy was renamed Students for a Democratic Society in 1960, most middle-class youth were too busy canvasing, stapling and cheering for John Kennedy's campaign for President to care about the New York-based student organization with or without its new name. At about the same time, however, a group of well-dressed black college students were sitting down at a segregated lunch counter in Greensboro, North

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Carolina, an act openly defiant of the system of Southern racism. The long-run effect of their action was phenomenal. The rebirth of a socialist movement in the United States, a movement built by organizing and fighting "from the bottom up" instead of relying on the conscience of liberal officeholders to bring about needed social change, dates from that original sit-in and the political and emotional confrontation it brought to the surface.

Out of the sit-ins and subsequent "freedom rides," there grew a spirit of neopopulism among a group of white and black college students, mostly from prestigious schools like Swarthmore, the University of Michigan and Berkeley. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which had been formed in 1960, moved away from the campuses and dug into grass-roots organizing efforts in several of the most viciously racist areas in the Deep South. Subjected to constant brutality by the local police and frustrated by Robert Kennedy's Justice Department, which stated support for their civil rights activities but provided them no federal protection, the young S.N.C.C. workers came back North to raise funds and enthusiasm for their crusade on campuses across the nation. (Longtime members of the Ann Arbor, Michigan, radical community tell the story of how Bob Moses, a charismatic S.N.C.C. organizer, used to drive up to the University of Michigan cafeteria from McComb, Mississippi, to pick up large supplies of food collected by student supporters.)

The knowledge of these experiences, and participation in them by some S.D.S. members like Tom Hayden and Rennie Davis, drove a wedge between the small group of students active in the organization and their older guardians like Michael Harrington, Bayard Rustin and Norman Thomas, who wanted S.D.S. to remain a group with no more than educational functions. The result of the dissatisfaction on the student end was a special conference in June, 1962, at which an eloquent document, written largely by Tom Hayden and later dubbed the "Port Huron Statement" (after the location of the meeting at a U.A.W. center in Michigan), was discussed and adopted by the less than one hundred participants present. The sixty-four-page manifesto was most vehement in detailing the lack of popular control of the governmental, economic and educational institutions of American liberal capitalism and in

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recognizing the ideology of anti-Communism as an excuse for the growing arms race and for American opposition to social revolution in the Third World. The preamble to the S.D.S. constitution, drafted about the time of the Port Huron conference, embodies the spirit of the "founding document":

> [S.D.S.] maintains a *vision of* a democratic society, where at all levels the people have control of the decisions which affect them and the resources on which they are dependent. It seeks a *relevance* through the continual focus on realities and on the programs necessary to effect change at the most basic levels of economic, political, and social organization. It feels the *urgency* to put forth a radical, democratic program whose methods embody the democratic vision.

Until the intensification of the Vietnam war by the United States in late 1964 and early 1965, S.D.S. grew slowly in numbers but dynamically in terms of experience gained in organizing white and black poor in ten urban ghettos from Newark to Chicago. The purpose of this community work was to help the poor win the aforementioned "control of the decisions which affect them" by establishing permanent "community unions," which were mobilized to protest housing shortages, the lack of traffic lights on busy streets, and similar abuses and grievances. Young organizers hoped that through the everyday practice of "participatory democracy," America's problems could be solved. This basic strategy of the early sixties was common to both S.N.C.C. and S.D.S. A coherent theoretical analysis was consciously spurned by both organizations. Wary of falling into the "Old Left" habits of assuming dogmatic positions and engaging in interminable sectarian squabbling, the two young groups concentrated on organizing toward action, confident that only mistakes made and successes won in practice could teach the validity of theoretical insights. The only hint of Marxian analysis in S.D.S. at this time appeared in the working hypothesis of several community workers that the urban and rural "underclass" of unemployed and underemployed citizens of both races could be the strategic "agent" to trigger a social upheaval in American capitalism. A somewhat anti-intellectual pragmatism, however, continued to hold sway in S.D.S. until after Lyndon Johnson (whom S.D.S. had lukewarmly supported in his Presidential campaign with the slogan, "Part of the Way with L.B.J.") directed the

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beginning of the bombing of North Vietnam in February, 1965.

In the last four years, the growth of S.D.S. has paralleled closely the rising opposition within the country to the American intervention in the Vietnamese revolution. The first mass protest against the war was called for and organized by S.D.S. in April, 1965 (almost twenty thousand persons showed up, surpassing all expectations), after a spate of teach-ins had brought the issues of the Southeast Asian conflict to the forefront at elite academic institutions like Berkeley and Columbia. It had become clear to many middle-class students at these and other schools that, although it was at first hard to believe, their country was morally on the wrong side in a war. The whole content of their formal education, as well as their parents' accounts of World War II, had instilled in them an instinctive patriotism and a pride in the foreign adventures of the nation they had believed was the "leader of the Free World." When they learned, however, that "the enemy" in this case fought mainly with captured weapons, that the leaders the United States was backing ranged from selfish landlords to ambitious generals who had fought to keep Indochina in French hands, and that an American victory in Vietnam would necessitate the slaughtering of most Vietnamese, the antiwar movement swelled, and S.D.S., as the only student group that had been active across the country in agitating against the war, more than doubled its membership and saw chapters spring up in places where no radical activity had ever gone on before. As the congressmen who called in the middle of 1965 for an investigation of its "subversive" nature agreed, S.D.S. in three years had become the largest and most influential organization on the growing American Left.

The autumn of 1965 was marked by a series of demonstrations against the war sponsored by and participated in by every group on the Left from liberal pacifists to revolutionary communists. Within the antiwar movement, there was a growing awareness, especially among student groups, that the causes of a tragedy like Vietnam were to be found not in the evil nature of a small group of administrators but in the basic power relationships and values of American society itself. S.D.S. members studied the work of Marxian historians like William Appleman Williams and dis-

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covered that their glorious nation had been expanding constantly since its birth and had been a rapacious imperialist power in Asia and Latin America since 1898. To end American imperialism, it seemed, would mean a complete reversal of the priorities of a rational capitalist order. This rapid theoretical awakening spurred a shift to the Left in the way S.D.S. talked about the war to its constituency and a significant change in the *solution* sought to the Vietnam conflict by antiwar groups and individuals. The earlier plea to both sides for negotiations and for "a return to the Geneva Accords" was replaced by a more militantly anti-U.S. view of the issues involved and by a demand for the immediate withdrawal of American troops. There was also growing support for "the other side," evidenced by the large number of National Liberation Front flags carried in many demonstrations and by the frequent comradely liaisons that prominent S.D.S. members and others in the antiwar movement held with N.L.F. and North Vietnamese officials. Moving quickly from polite dissent to enraged defiance, S.D.S. was ready in 1966 to act directly against American participation in Vietnam as it increasingly saw the futility of peaceful demonstrations.

S.D.S. was by no means the first organization to call for and to engage in resistance to the Selective Service System in an effort to end the Vietnam war. But the efforts of the anticapitalist and pro-N.L.F. May 2nd Movement and of various pacifist groups were too small and badly coordinated to contribute any more than their example of antidraft action to the movement's history. When the S.D.S. national office drew up a "Vietnam Exam" and the membership distributed it to campuses across the country in early 1966, to coincide with the standardized tests for draft eligibility given by General Hershey and company, the action sparked a new emphasis for the antiwar movement and a more radical posture toward the government that was prosecuting the war. S.D.S., however, did not have an official draft resistance program until the end of the year.

The eventual S.D.S. leadership of the anticonscription struggle was the key to the development of the student organization itself, both tactically and ideologically. Tactically, it marked the active participation of S.D.S. chapters throughout the nation in various

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types of illegal pursuits from individual and collective draft-card burnings to an attempt by over one thousand persons to shut down the Oakland Induction Center for one day in October, 1967. The effect on the political consciousness of S.D.S. members was equally significant. Previously engaged in a rather scholarly critique of American society based on a condemnation of the oppression of *others,* most S.D.S.ers were now for the first time fighting on an issue that was central to *their* lives and that, furthermore, enabled them to understand American foreign policy as injurious to both the interests of Vietnamese peasants and those of American youth, although of course in different ways. As indications of the new urgency and heightened level of personal involvement, S.D.S. put out an antidraft button in early 1967, which declared in red block letters the slogan, "Not With My Life You Don't," and circulated a pamphlet analyzing the main purpose of the Selective Service System as one of "manpower channeling." Both items were extremely popular on American campuses.

It was a short step from attacking universities for cooperating with the draft for Vietnam to the opening of a concentrated campaign against the research and training institutes, recruiting facilities, and social science professors who were seen as serving the cause of international counterrevolution in multifarious ways on campuses from Columbia to the University of Hawaii. S.D.S. campus sleuths have done countless studies detailing the functions of persons and organizations at various schools that aid a systematic foreign policy of imperialism. Most chapters have been involved since before the Columbia revolt of April-May, 1968, in the task of educating students about the role of their academic institutions in actively supporting and developing American policy and have engaged in disruptive actions to destroy these arms of United States world hegemony. Thus S.D.S. has progressed from marching plaintively to convince Lyndon Johnson of the error of his ways to striking at the core of the apparatus of American technical and intellectual power in the large private and public universities of the land. The level of tactics has changed because the analysis has changed. James O'Connor, an economics professor at San Jose State College, states succinctly the reasons for S.D.S.'s preoccupation with the political functions of universities:

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The role of the colleges and universities in U.S. economic and political policy abroad corresponds to their role in the local political economy. They are points of imperialist rule. They develop and promote new weapons systems, new instruments of local, national, and international social control, new approaches to international marketing problems, and new economic theories which promote the hegemony of American business over world resources. ("The University and The Political Economy," *Leviathan*, New York: March 1969 [Vol. I, no. 1], p. 15.)

Propaganda and action against United States intervention in Vietnam have swelled S.D.S.'s numbers, but the organization's response to the swift changes in the black liberation movement over the last seven years has been probably more significant in shaping the conception most S.D.S.ers have of their overall political purposes as middle-class white radicals in the United States. Ever since S.D.S. learned its original organizing strategy of "participatory democracy" from the experience of S.N.C.C. workers in the rural South, it has seen the winning of whites to an antiracist position as the primary necessity on the road to the formation of a racially united radical movement. Accordingly, S.D.S. has consistently supported the political viewpoints and actions of the most militant segments of the black movement and has consciously shaped its own analysis and program in response to those elements as they have evolved during the sixties from Malcolm X to S.N.C.C. to the Black Panther Party. This has not been a servile or guilt-ridden attitude but one that clearly recognizes the predominance of the problem of racism in American society and posits support by whites for black "self-determination" as the only way to solve it. Furthermore, the evolution in S.D.S. theory from a vaguely defined populism to a revolutionary interpretation of Marxism has been spurred at each point by the increasing radicalization of the black liberation movement.

Few people remember that the issue that sparked the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley five years ago was a ban on on-campus recruiting for civil rights activities. Students like Mario Savio had come back from the Mississippi Summer organizing project committed to the fight for black liberation. When that struggle was curbed by Clark Kerr and the ruling bureaucracy of the University of California, thousands of students took action; and the national

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press discovered for the first time something called "the New Left." For the next year and a half, the student movement, with S.D.S. at its center, was involved in support work for S.N.C.C. and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which S.N.C.C. had organized to win political power in the Southern state whose political life most resembled that of the Republic of South Africa. For most students the essence of "good politics" in the United States at this time was the civil rights movement with young black and white ex-collegians at the head of it. This was a naïve, rather elitist, and overly romantic conception of the reality of poor blacks who were jeopardizing their lives to integrate their schools or to register to vote, but the altruistic feelings of most students were genuine, and their fund-raising and propaganda work were important to the popularization of the cause.

By 1966, the failure of token integration and of two federal civil rights bills to effect any tangible change in the living conditions or social status of blacks (facts that were starkly illustrated by the Watts Rebellion of 1965) or to obliterate the racist behavior and attitudes of most whites had convinced most of the S.N.C.C. staff that a reassessment of their ideas and practice was necessary. In addition, Vietnam had replaced racial equality as the nation's main political issue, taking the pressure off the federal government to alleviate black oppression. (S.N.C.C. issued a statement in January, 1966, declaring its "sympathy with . . . the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in Vietnam in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country," thus becoming the first civil rights group unambiguously to oppose American intervention.) The election of Stokely Carmichael as S.N.C.C. chairman in May of 1966 cemented the victory of the more radical faction in the organization, which aggressively championed the strategy of independently mobilizing black communities in opposition to the approach of ex-chairman John Lewis, who had called for alliances with white liberal groups in general and with Northern Democrats in particular. There is no need to recount the subsequent furor over Carmichael's "Black Power" slogan and S.N.C.C.'s leadership in putting forth that concept packaged in avowedly revolutionary rhetoric. S.D.S. members,

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many of whom had been castigated by implication in S.N.C.C.'s repudiation of former white supporters, quickly recovered from a sudden loss of integrationist hopes and stood behind S.N.C.C., while the white liberal intelligentsia and the mass media viciously attacked "black power" as "racism in reverse" and as "black fascism." Carmichael, in outlining how he thought young white radicals could help to defeat American racism, exhorted S.D.S. and other groups to organize in white communities, especially among the working-class population. The growth in the number and intensity of ghetto rebellions in 1967 added to the determination of most S.D.S.ers to follow Carmichael's advice.

S.N.C.C., despite its radical nationalist appeal, has never been able to establish a base in black urban communities. The Black Panther Party, however, which was started in 1967 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, has discarded the antiwhite tenor of some of S.N.C.C.'s pronouncements, embraced Mao Tse-tung's interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, and built a disciplined organization of working-class blacks with branches in most large cities in the country. While the Panthers have been organizing their Party around the issues of armed self-defense of the black community against white police and toward a ten-point program demanding the fulfillment of the social needs of black people, black *students* have also been on the offensive. From California to Washington, D.C., black collegians have been involved in many attempts, a number of them marked by the deaths of rebel students, to win open admissions for minority-group youth, black studies departments, and the stopping of specific racist practices of various white administrators and professors.

In all these instances, S.D.S. chapters have been confronted with the responsibility of building white support actions for the black demands in question and of educating the campus about the connection between the particular demands and the radical movement's analysis of the larger society. At schools like Columbia and Kent State University in Ohio, S.D.S. initiated action that has successfully curbed racist actions (at Kent State, S.D.S. stopped recruiting by the Oakland, California, police department, and at Columbia, the infamous gymnasium was the issue). The virulent repression visited recently on the Black Panther Party and on other

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revolutionary forces in the black movement has brought in turn a new seriousness of purpose and determined maturity to the work of most S.D.S. members. Once again, the exigencies of the fight for black liberation have shaped the development of the most influential white radical organization.

By the time over eight hundred people occupied five Columbia University buildings in the spring of 1968, S.D.S. had become an organization of self-consciously *revolutionary* students and ex-students. Debating policy resolutions and programmatic suggestions at the national convention that year were more than one thousand young Marxists of widely varying schools of thought, all attempting to apply the methodology of class analysis to the "objective reality" of the world's most advanced capitalist society. Furthermore, there were few candidates for national office who did not define themselves as "revolutionary communists" when queried about their politics. S.D.S. had come a long way in six years, fighting the twin goblins of imperialism and racism and learning more about the needs of the people of the world in the process.

In explaining the developing consciousness within S.D.S. of those needs and the concomitant growth of a working solidarity with the international movement struggling to fulfill them through armed revolution, I have neglected to discuss several political issues, like "student power," that have been significant in the history of S.D.S., but that are hardly items of contention within the organization now. Although a much fuller history of S.D.S. will no doubt deal with them in detail, I think such issues have not been central to the evolution of S.D.S. either tactically or theoretically. What is significant and has been too facilely glossed over by most of the corporate media is S.D.S.'s gradual shift in recent years back to off-campus organizing, with the aim of reaching groups of people in the American working class, most of whom are not college students.

A sharp rise in the number of wildcat strikes, protests and disruptions at working-class high schools throughout the country, and the swift spread of a radical antiwar movement within the armed forces indicate that the potential appeal of a Left alternative to

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many Americans is very great. These phenomena have accentuated the reality of the powerlessness and alienation that the large majority of people in the country experience in their jobs and in their personal lives. To address these political concerns and also to bring to the American working class a consciousness of and identification with the movements of black people in the United States and of impoverished millions around the underdeveloped world, S.D.S. organizers are going into the military, into workplaces of various kinds, and are working with radical students in high schools. There have been some notable successes in these endeavors. In Mahwah, New Jersey, last spring, S.D.S. members from the New York City area worked in support of a wildcat strike by black autoworkers at the biggest Ford plant east of Michigan. The strikers were demanding the firing of a foreman who was known for racist behavior and for an end to the increased "speedup" the management was enforcing on the assembly line. With S.D.S.'s help, most of the white workers were persuaded to respect the picket lines that the black group set up, and the wildcatters won a partial victory. The general S.D.S. strategy is geared toward the development of a "revolutionary youth movement," since young people are judged to be more aware of the social contradictions of American capitalism at this period in history and are thus the group that is taking militant action in cities and schools across the country.

At the 1969 national convention in Chicago, S.D.S. expelled the members of the Progressive Labor Party from the organization. The P.L.P., a pro-Chinese Marxist-Leninist party, was charged with opposing most of the demands and actions of the black liberation movement, including the key one of "self-determination" for Afro-Americans; was accused of slandering maliciously in its official publications the positions of the Black Panther Party (with which S.D.S. has a close fraternal relationship); and was chastised for many of its international positions, including labeling the leadership of the Vietnamese revolution "traitors" for entering into the Paris negotiations. P.L.P., which with its supporters was the largest organized group in S.D.S., derided its expulsion and continued to meet in the convention hall, proclaiming itself the "legitimate S.D.S." Both this group and the slightly larger number of support-

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ers of the expulsion (most of them split into various "revolutionary youth movement" factions) proceeded in the election of their own national officers and in the discussion and passage of various proposals for a national program for the coming year. Which group is the "real S.D.S." will be decided by the actions in the coming months of the approximately five hundred local chapters scattered around the country. Carl Davidson, a former S.D.S. national officer, who opposed the P.L.P. group, explained the expulsion this way:

> S.D.S. arrived at the conclusion that it could no longer have a double standard, making major political demands (such as support for the NLF) outside its ranks which were not only not supported, but attacked by persons within its ranks. The existence of that contradiction within has hamstrung the organization for almost a year . . . the organization should now be able to move forward in the fight against imperialism.
> (*Guardian*, July 5, 1969, p. 3)

While the historical outcome of the split/expulsion is still a question, the events in Chicago do serve to reemphasize the central significance in S.D.S. of the two questions of race and the international revolutionary movement. The continuity of the primacy of these matters in the building of a second American revolution is probably the only certain element in the future of Students for a Democratic Society.

James O'Brien's pamphlet, "A History of the New Left, 1960-1968," was invaluable to me as a quick refresher course and for its extensive bibliography. It is available for thirty cents from the New England Free Press, 791 Tremont St., Boston, Massachusetts 02118.

M.K.

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An Entrance into the Water

WILLIAM HUNT

The meadow and the moon:
my silence and your entrance

into the waters of light,
or so I think of your arms
and hear a voice that says,
"More and more darkness
is where she hides
behind the stalks of grass."

How could you hide
and I hold you also?
Tonight again I am
prepared to die—
clumsy as a young girl,

you swim beyond the dockside,
but all memories prepare us
for death as a woman dressed
in black and with fins.

The flattened leaves of the lake's
surface shift and somewhere below
is your swim-suited flesh, chilled

and I miss making you more warm
than you have ever been.
It is like the weight
of a drowned body, loving
this way, that we carry
wearily onto the shore and also
there is the meadow and the moon.

✪ WILLIAM HUNT was a 1967-68 recipient of a grant from the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities. At present he lives in Italy near Pienza.

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The Snare of Preparation

PETER CLECAK

> *It was not until years afterward that I came upon Tolstoy's phrase 'the snare of preparation,' which he insists we spread before the feet of young people, hopelessly entangling them in a curious inactivity at the very period of life when they are longing to construct the world anew and to conform it to their own ideals.*
>
> —Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House*

I RECENTLY CAME ACROSS A LETTER from the undergraduate teacher who redirected my interests from law and politics to teaching and writing. We met at Berkeley in 1956: he was an English instructor, a brilliant man in his early forties, with diverse intellectual interests and a rich background of nonacademic experience. I was a seventeen-year-old freshman, ill-prepared for the intellectual maze of Berkeley. Although it was a rather uneven basis for a friendship, his generosity and my enthusiasm found common ground in his introductory English course. After he left for the East at the end of the year, we corresponded regularly, and in the aftermath of the Free Speech Movement in 1964, he summarized the main elements of my complaints: "Behind the whole blow-up appears to lie the thing which you used to lament in your letters to me; the massiveness and impersonality of the University, the overstress on research to the detriment of teaching, the mechanism of the administration, the control of the mercantile and military over education, and chiefly the alienation and anonymity of the undergraduate."

Rediscovering these half-forgotten attitudes and feelings has intensified my confusion as a young teacher whose sympathies lie between students disenchanted with the university and older fac-

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ulty committed to serious criticism and scholarship. As a graduate assistant in the early 1960s, the patterns of my own past and present often seemed to illuminate the main concerns of students—what to know and how to live. In spite of different backgrounds, goals and temperaments, we could at least explore ways of shaping our lives within a vaguely similar framework of assumptions and values. But I find my past increasingly useless in discussions with a significant minority of the brightest students. And oddly so, because the conditions that evoked my earlier discontent persist, even though typical responses to the university have altered considerably. The quiet rebellion of the 1950s continues, but it has been eclipsed by the open revolt against the dominant forms and social functions of the university.

I frequently wonder how I would react to the prospect of being an undergraduate. The unanswerable question is also unsettling since a teacher must recommend styles of life, if only implicitly. And yet when one appears more as a period piece than as an imperfect model, teaching in the humanities becomes an enervating task. Most humanists probably agree that the disparity between the aims and the achievements of liberal education has become nearly intolerable. Beyond this lies a welter of disagreement about the complex causes of student unrest and the potential solutions. I shall not pretend to offer definitive answers—or even a thorough analysis of the central problems. Beginning, however, with an intense impression of my own dilemma as a teacher, I want to assess the current moods and complaints of students, and suggest the kinds of educational forms and styles that might help a significant minority of undergraduates to *desire* a liberal education.

Any teacher who really listens to students cannot avoid being struck by the contradictory qualities and moods that they convey —a blend of cynicism and idealism, self-righteousness and self-doubt, confusion and lucidity, desire for independence and need for approval. These tensions are the raw materials that a liberal education ought to temper and refine: it should help individuals forge a balanced moral vision out of their oscillating cynicism and idealism, their self-righteousness and self-doubt; it should enable

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them to develop a critical intelligence out of their confusion and lucidity; and it should transform energy and boredom into a dynamic interplay of purposive and purposeless styles of action.

In fact, however, a growing number of students find that the humanities as presently taught in most universities and colleges exacerbate these tensions. In too many instances we induce paralysis rather than integration. And hence a large minority express a range of negative reactions to their courses of study—from mild apathy and boredom to overt frustration and hostility. This depressing conclusion haunts the fashionable catchphrases of the students. Many complain of a lack of "identity" and an absence of "community." Some find the institution or the "system" confusing, impersonal and depersonalizing. Others express contempt for those of us who fail to develop—or even to seek—a style of life adequate to what we profess and adequate to the students' need for admirable and imitable adults. In short, they find the faculty morally corrupt, emotionally stunted and intellectually sterile—irrelevant (that battered term) to their lives.

An educated man can easily reveal the formal inadequacies of these criticisms, which are usually unaccompanied by lucid statements of institutional and educational alternatives. But that is hardly to the point, since in my view the indictments contain a large measure of truth. Our failure to engage large numbers of the most promising students is evident not only in their complaints about the irrelevance of courses, curricula and teachers, but in the popular alternatives they adopt. Students seek to resolve these tensions in spite of the university rather than through it. Instead of learning primarily from courses and instructors, many have turned to charlatans and bush-league soothsayers such as Timothy Leary, Frank Zappa and Ken Kesey. Another minority has drifted into the New Left in search of a politics of total salvation. The "hippie" and New Left alternatives to the university may appear to run in opposite directions—withdrawal from social involvement as opposed to submission to revolutionary politics. But the differences conceal the important similarities that illuminate the university's failure as well as the students' needs. Both impulses involve a fundamental and sweeping rejection of the current social order. Students symbolically retreat from their social milieu by

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denying the importance and even the existence of the outer world, or by identifying with distant revolutionary figures such as Mao, Fidel and Che. And the alternatives provide badly needed communities and subcultures for disoriented individuals.

The tensions are thus resolved most unsatisfactorily—by the adoption of various ideologies and strategies of action that obliterate or grossly distort one element. Such remedies, needless to say, quickly wear off. Two examples should illustrate my point. One student recently told me that further conversations between us would be fruitless since he had gained an insight into the *whole* universe whereas I was still bound to mere language and logic, and thus to a partial point of view. His identification with the "basic forces and rhythms of the universe" eliminated the need for serious intellectual activity and, he claimed, had erased his fear of death as well as his need for traditional friendships. At about the same time another student—recently attracted to the New Left —told me that *any* reform of the university would either be an act of repression or of co-optation. The simplistic dichotomy prestructured our conversation, since his only conceivable interest was whether to classify my suggestions as repressive or co-optive.

Both students exhibited advanced symptoms of an increasingly common ailment. They were addressing important questions, or rather implying that they could handle such questions only by rejecting the linguistic tools that are the primary media of liberal education. One student claimed to have "transcended" language; the other chose to ignore its rich potentialities. Each sought temporary release in simplifications, which closed off further discourse. And I was unable to communicate the potential value of humanist perspectives on thought and behavior precisely *because* neither student accepted the conventions of language and logic or the rudimentary axiological assumptions upon which humanist discourse rests.

The paradox seems complete. I began by assuming that the humanities can help to satisfy diverse needs of students only to argue that a sizable group rejects the principal tools and the current institutional forms of liberal education. Ends seem thoroughly dissociated from means.

The typical responses of humanists to this paradox have been

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disappointing. Reacting to campus protest, disorder, and the students' demands for "control over the decisions which affect their lives," a number of professors have recommended a strengthening of the aims and existing patterns of liberal education in professionalized universities. For instance, writing in the *New Republic* last spring, Robert Brustein suggested that those in revolt are exalting the "amateur" as a "kind of democratic culture hero, subject to no standards or restrictions," while deprecating the professional scholar-critic whose systematic study of a disciplined body of knowledge qualifies him to formulate the curriculum, teach it, and judge the students' performance. According to Brustein, this new cult of amateurism threatens the authority of the professionals. "The proper study of mankind becomes contemporary man or future man; and the student focuses not on the outside world, past or present, so much as on a parochial corner of his own immediate needs. But this is childish, in addition to being Romantic, reflecting as it does the student's unwillingness to examine and conceive a world beyond himself." Brustein concludes that a minority of students are "creating conditions in which it is virtually impossible to do intellectual work."

On first reading, Brustein's case for professionalism comes as a pleasant relief from the prolific and muddled rhetoric of student rebels—the endless talk about the university and its faculty as permanent obstacles to the total "liberation" of individuals—from intellect, from responsibility to others, and from recognition of the delicate balance between necessity and freedom. Surely Brustein makes several telling points. No one committed to humanist values can approve the abolition of Reason, for which many students have energetically called. Respect for intellect is a crucial aspect of any community devoted to free inquiry and critical dissent.

But Brustein minimizes the disparities between the ideology and practice of professionalism that intensify student unrest. This generation of undergraduates is hypersensitive to all forms of hypocrisy (except perhaps its own). The celebration of professional values conceals the important failures of the university —and of the larger society as well. Much scholarship *is* trivial, and a good deal of it *is* motivated less by the disinterested pursuit

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of truth than by the funds flowing from governmental agencies and private industry. Higher education and research in America have been largely subordinated to essentially antihumanist state and national configurations of power. To be taken seriously, then, defenders of professionalism ought to specify both the aims *and* the predictable social consequences of their activities.

Moreover, the ideology of professionalism in the academy conceals the inattention to teaching that students bitterly—and justly—resent. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman remark, "It is, indeed, only a small exaggeration to say that undergraduate education in most universities and university colleges is simply a cut-rate, mass-produced version of graduate education." And it should be clear that a diluted form of graduate education frustrates people in their late teens and early twenties. Moreover, they assign primary responsibility for the present state of teaching to the professionals: "If this book [*The Academic Revolution*] has any single message it is that the academic profession increasingly determines the character of undergraduate education in America."

The main weakness of the apologias for professionalism, however, lies elesewhere. Brustein fails to imagine viable solutions to the conflicts because he neglects their principal social and psychological causes. He seems unable to explain *why* so many students refuse the liberal education that professionals offer. The observation that undergraduates are narcissistic, self-centered, and Romantic belabors the obvious (they are, after all, teen-agers). And it obscures the darker implication of the argument. For unless it is very carefully qualified, the case for professionalism in American universities sooner or later turns into a sophisticated and self-conscious justification of brute force as a means of preserving the university. It deflects attention from the social and cultural configurations that will continue to generate miseducation and violence if various interest groups merely persist in hardening the present lines of battle.

The problems, needs and limitations of a significant minority of our students cannot be resolved by reaffirming professional values. Nor can they be appreciably reduced by minor adjustments of university structures, although reforms would help. Greater

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emphasis on the evaluation of courses and degree programs, the development of interdisciplinary studies, and increased rewards for first-rate undergraduate teaching would begin to redress the imbalances in the research university to which professionals themselves have heavily contributed. We accept the outrageous when it becomes routine. The simultaneous imposition of specialized courses of study and breadth requirements (a course on Renaissance art history, one in modern jazz and a third in problems of black identity) ought to test the faith of the most pliant undergraduate. It is unreasonable to expect anyone who attends lecures on four subjects, three times a week, three quarters a year, to discover any principle of order (except, perhaps, the registrar's).

Most educational reforms in the university proceed quietly and informally as teachers continuously experiment within the framework of single courses. Humanists concerned with teaching often assume that initial training in language and logic will provide neophytes with the means of pursuing and accepting the moral and intellectual canons of liberal education. Once they appreciate the intricacies of language and logic, the argument runs, undergraduates can become apprentice humanists. Thus, the customary mode of resolving the paradox of means and ends is to immerse the students in major texts or to lead them toward serious discourse via a careful analysis of the familiar artifacts of popular culture. Although both approaches have obvious advantages, I wish to focus on their severe limitations.

These strategies *assume* that students will refine their patterns of thought and feeling by reading and writing, and through discussion. A modest assumption, appropriate for *some* groups in *some* social contexts. It is, however, a futile approach to individuals who not only distrust language, but also find it largely unrelated to—and in some cases, subversive of—their most immediate needs. Young people quickly learn that language in this society is most often a useful vehicle for promoting and protecting their interests and their "images." Who can be expected to believe in the more subtle powers of language and the pleasures of contemplation if he feels a paralyzing dissociation of intellectual from emotional responses, as well as a detachment from the larger

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world? He abandons serious intellectual activity in favor of an unsatisfying cult of experience and emotion.

The present dilemmas of undergraduate education resist solutions based on graduate and professional school models that fail to relate the symptoms of discontent to their social and cultural sources. The principal problem is *prior* to any ensemble of courses through which we attempt to convey humanist traditions. It is, I believe, even *prior* to the rejection of the basic media of language and logic. The recent forms of extracurricular activity on campuses—the marathon "rap" and "sensitivity" sessions, the protests and confrontations involving demands for "power," "community" and "liberation"—all imply the need for direct experiences that students can handle. Coming to the university from partially permissive, partially repressive environments, they are comparatively affluent and highly mobile. They possess many of the freedoms formerly reserved for adults—above all, the freedom to consume. Many have run through the traditional American social rituals and goals—sex, travel, consumption—before they reach twenty. They *fulfill* a debased version of the American dream, whereas previous generations were, for the most part, separated and saved from that bitter consummation by relative poverty. At the same time, students are still cut off from the only activity in the adult world that can reduce the boredom and triviality of leisure time in mass society—namely, useful work.

The university cannot develop wholly satisfactory solutions to these paradoxes which, after all, reflect larger social dilemmas. But we can devise more effective ways of pursuing the traditional ends of liberal education. We should begin to imagine new programs and structures that simultaneously engage the student in the present and teach him more sophisticated modes of understanding, evaluating and valuing his experience. One basic strategy would be to clear a space within universities and build small undergraduate colleges that are humanist in aim and experimental in method. I think the most promising way to break the vicious circle in which educational means frustrate humanist ends would be to devise a liberal arts curriculum based on the work-study principle. Before engaging in an intensive study of literature, philosophy

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and history, students should spend several years defining themselves as characters in the historical present. They should begin their university lives by selecting from a variety of full-time positions—in government, welfare agencies, schools, churches and perhaps in industry. While on the job, the student would be supervised by professionals from whom he could learn both the theoretical and practical dimensions of his work, and its place in the whole institution.

To integrate work and study, students might attend seminars on topics related to their work. Theoretical and practical issues in economics and modern technology, sociology, political science and psychology would form the academic core of the program. In these seminars students would begin to examine and reflect upon their immediate activities and upon themselves, exploring the complex interrelationships between consciousness and social structure. They would move from analysis of local institutions to theoretical speculation about American society and culture as a whole.

The initial focus of liberal education in our advanced industrial society, then, ought to be *on the student in the present.* I emphasize the need for primarily active roles for several reasons. First, I believe that most of the typical psychological problems—lack of identity, self-confidence and purpose—cannot be effectively tackled until the university, in cooperation with other institutions, creates social roles that allow individuals to discover and exercise their own capacities. Too many of the young—and the old—feel disoriented and dispensable. Programs stressing useful work not only consume the vast quantity of energy of those in their late teens and early twenties; they also turn random motion into purposeful action.

Second, programs synthesizing work and study seem to be an essential precondition for creating a desire to learn from the past as well as the prerequisite for taking charge of the fragment of the future that a man can hope to shape. A couple of years of structured experience in the outside world should generate confusion and the desire for deeper perspectives offered by history, philosophy and literature. Only at this point will the student lose his "unwillingness," as Brustein puts it, "to examine and conceive a world beyond himself." No one learns very much very well until he is

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moved by need and desire. Thus, for example, a genuinely *disinterested* study of literature or history presupposes an intense *interest* in it. Otherwise, literary study becomes a pale substitute for direct experience and for genuine aesthetic contemplation; and historical study turns into a spectator sport.

When educational priorities are almost diametrically opposed to individual needs, as they are in most undergraduate programs in the humanities, a good deal of the student's time is simply wasted. He is trapped in what Tolstoi calls "the snare of preparation." We should not expect young people, especially those who grow up in essentially anti-intellectual surroundings, to leap enthusiastically from a dreary secondary school into a study of Greek philosophy and drama, Chaucer and Dante, Shakespeare and T. S. Eliot. Such attempts to eliminate an important intermediate stage of personal growth increasingly produce failures—dropouts and university graduates whose liberal education (such as it is) ceases when they leave the campus. Only by increasing the student's opportunities for responsible action at the outset of his university life can we hope to teach the potentialities as well as the limitations of direct experience and action.

Work-study programs have been tried at Antioch, Bennington and, more recently, at Old Westbury. Some of these experiments have been moderately successful, although they inherently tend to dissociate work from study, and to de-emphasize the important connections between the social sciences and the humanities. But nowhere has the principle been thoroughly tested. And it seems theoretically persuasive enough to merit a serious experiment under reasonably good conditions. Of course, I do not mean to underestimate the obstacles to developing and implementing an effective work-study program in the liberal arts. Prospects for the near future appear dim—in the university and beyond. Although the growing discord on campuses has evoked the beginnings of serious discussions among students, faculty and administrators, the dialogue still tends to increase the frustrations of all the parties as much as it reduces tensions. Unreasonable demands merge with serious proposals for increased student participation in university governance, in curricular innovation and reform, and in the selection and retention of faculty. Committees multiply. But solutions

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seem as remote as ever. Students usually cannot define their dissatisfactions; faculty often react defensively to proposed changes that will almost certainly reduce their prerogatives; and administrators who desire order above all exhibit a systematic aversion to substantive ideas.

In this atmosphere, proposed reforms appear attractive—on paper. But they are terribly difficult to bring about. Rising costs and growing enrollments in the context of declining funds threaten to multiply the tensions on campuses. Professionals in the humanities may be called upon to teach more. In the research university, students will absorb the first shocks of economizing strategies; they will confront more teaching machines and fewer teachers. And administrators will serve as lightning rods for more intense frustrations. Although cutbacks may generate more efficient and, in some cases, better techniques of teaching, the fiscal restrictions will probably amplify campus unrest.

And the current conservative political atmosphere in the larger society almost precludes coherent and sustained efforts to alleviate the major problems of higher education. It is a familiar and dispiriting story, the archetypal social script of this affluent society. Needs multiply along with the intellectual and material capacity to meet them humanely and intelligently. But no group combines the knowledge, power and will to transform this capacity into performance. Still, the universities will be catalysts of change —perhaps in spite of themselves. For the students will not go away. As they continue to push the institutional barriers to their limits, new shapes will emerge. But unless those who value the critical function of the university plan curricula to meet the students' real needs, these new shapes will not redeem humanist visions of the academy.

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The Hampton Institute Strike of 1927

A Case Study in Student Protest

EDWARD K. GRAHAM

AT APPROXIMATELY SEVEN FORTY-FIVE on the evening of Saturday, October 8, 1927, ever-growing thunderheads of student dissent at Hampton Institute in Virginia finally broke, in a storm that would shake the foundations of the college as nothing had ever shaken them before. That gentlest of campus organizations, the Armstrong League of Hampton Workers, had scheduled a showing of the powerful documentary *Chang* in Ogden Hall, the institution's vast auditorium. In the light of what was to happen, there was a degree of irony in the choice. Filmed in the jungle country of northern Siam, *Chang* told the story of a Lao tribesman who had moved from the security of his village to new surroundings, and of his struggle for survival. As Paul Rotha, the often-disenchanted historian of the motion picture, described *Chang*: "The spirit of the jungle was captured in such a manner that the audience seemed to live in it themselves. . . . A wonderful feeling of stirring, of undergrowth moved by unseen forms, of branches swinging by forces other than those of the wind, spread into the spectators."

In Ogden Hall that night there were indeed metaphoric "branches swinging by forces other than those of the wind," and "undergrowth moved by unseen forms." But the students were

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momentarily concerned with a different kind of symbolism. Somebody had left the lights on. To the audience, this symbolized an unwillingness to trust the young ladies and the young gentlemen in a darkened auditorium. There was loud protest. Efforts by the authorities to restore order served only to increase resentment. As a contemporary expressed it, "All hell broke loose." An uneasy truce was established, and the show was resumed only after lights had been turned off. But the break between Hampton students and administration, years in the making, was at last out in the open.

Leaving on the lights during a movie and the immediate student response were of course symptoms, not causes, of the most devastating student strike in Hampton's long history of undergraduate protest. They were no more than "branches swinging by forces other than the wind," or "undergrowth moved by unseen forms." In this sense, the strike of 1927 is a timeless thing. The forces and unseen forms that gave it birth are the heart of the story. The strike was no sudden phenomenon. It was part of a continuum of student protest going back to the earliest days of the school: protest that had made fully documented appearances on several occasions prior to the end of the nineteenth century.

Hampton Institute had been launched in the fall of 1867 with support from the American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Bureau, and opened in the following spring. Its first and foremost purpose was to prepare Negro teachers for the hundreds of schools for freedmen springing up throughout the South. Located near the southeastern tip of the Tidewater Peninsula, directly across Hampton Roads from Norfolk, Hampton had an enrollment of nearly nine hundred students by the mid-twenties. While it had remained a teacher-training institution throughout, it had undergone a major modification with the initiation of a massive industrial arts program in the 1880s and the 1890s. Now, at the beginning of its second half-century, it was subject to all the stresses and strains of still another transition: that of upgrading its teacher-training courses from high school to college level, and absorbing a student body increasingly composed of college men and women rather than school boys and girls. The long-standing proclivity of Hampton undergraduates to take stands

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on various issues was stimulated, therefore, both by the tensions inherent in change in the nature of the institution, and by change in the maturity of students themselves. The times were ripe for something to happen.

One reason the times were ripe, by the twenties, relates to the deterioration of the status of the Hampton student in self-government and other recognitions of citizenship in the academic community. During reconstruction and immediately thereafter, when Hampton students were considerably younger and unable to get more than the most rudimentary sort of training before they began the limited education then required for rural school teachers, opportunities for self-government were extended on a basis considerably more liberal than that which existed when young men and women were coming to Hampton as candidates for college degrees. General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Hampton's dynamic founder, and principal from 1867 to 1893, promoted student government as an encouragement to individual responsibility just as he insisted—during his years as district superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau—on the freedman's right to vote without qualification of literacy, as an encouragement to the responsibility of citizenship. Discipline was strict in early Hampton, but rules of conduct were sparse and clean-cut. Students could take stands on principle without risk of retaliatory action. In the administration of Armstrong's successor, Hollis Burke Frissell (1893-1917), protesting students, including those who had engaged in a rousing strike on one notable occasion, were called in for exploration of grievances rather than for arbitrary punishment.

But some fifty years after the first recorded protest, student government had fallen by the wayside. Rules had become more complex, and student dissent was regarded as a defect of character. What happened was as simple as this: the status of Negro youth on his own campus had followed the downward trend followed by the status of the Negro as a whole, despite progress in universal public education, health services and the like.

While early Hampton was no citadel of unrestrained freedom —hardly a metaphor that could be applied to any small boarding school in any generation—it would indeed appear that in later

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years strong forces in a surrounding society, increasingly concerned with social legislation and with "keeping the Negro in his place," produced within the school a pattern of thinking that looked toward keeping the student in his or her place. Hampton students in the twenties once more were firmly of the opinion that somebody was pushing them around. They were bone-tired of it.

The situation must have been equally frustrating to Principal James Edgar Gregg, D.D. (1918-1929), a proper New Englander who strove to understand his fellowman and do him justice. A serious-minded and kindly person, prone to take conservative advice as good public relations, Gregg stands in the memory of those who knew him best as a fine individual, somewhat detached from the realities of problems that occasionally engaged his attention. Unlike his predecessors, he had spent relatively little time in education, and no time at all south of Mason and Dixon's line before he came to Hampton from a large Congregational church in western Massachusetts, where problems of man's inhumanity to man involved people of the same color close at hand, or people of different colors only in distant places.

Among the things that impelled undergraduates of the twenties toward protest were galling reminders of the controls that now governed virtually every aspect of their lives. Typical are excerpts from a lengthy set of rules and regulations for men students.

> Janitors or school officers are authorized to enter the rooms at any hour of the day or night. . . . Every student is expected to bathe at least twice a week. . . . No student is allowed north of the line passing through the center of the Principal's house except when on school business. . . . Students are forbidden to use tobacco whether on the grounds or off them. . . . Rowing, sailing, and bicycle riding on Sundays, except on school duty or by special permission, is forbidden.

Comparable regulations existed for women. The ringing of a bell told them when to get up, go to classes, go to meals, go to chapel, go to church and go to bed. Men and women might occasionally walk together to their assignments in practice teaching or observation, but social contact was infrequent and carefully monitored. There were daily room inspections while women were in classes.

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Meanwhile, the average age of the student body moved rapidly upward. In 1920, Hampton began the transition from boarding school to college. The degree of student sophistication kept pace with the constantly rising level of instruction and with the increase in the proportion of students coming from towns and cities rather than farming communities. In 1922, young Arthur P. Davis delivered a prophetic valedictory:

> To suppress the individuality of a people by an attempt to standardize them according to all of our popular American customs is to render impossible their contribution to America. . . . To make a growing race takes radicals as well as conservatives. If, therefore, there were no radicals to question and attack all customs, the race would soon become stagnant. . . . The greatest debt which we owe [our teachers] is discovering and developing our own individuality—in teaching us to think for ourselves, to choose for ourselves.

The climate of administrative thinking with respect to student life is reflected in what transpired in the upper echelons of Hampton staff, and illustrates the widening gap between student self-concepts and adult views of students. Gregg and his chief lieutenants, as the Administrative Board, spent long hours in weekly meetings. Typical entries in their minutes note that—at a time when civilization was so far advanced that man had invented the iron lung, flown the Atlantic, transmitted the first television image and sound, and designed a rocket-propelled plane—two young ladies were put on probation for playing cards; a young lady who left the grounds with a young man and did not get back until eleven thirty at night had been "severely disciplined by the dean and sent off, not to return"; a young lady "seen on the grounds with some young man" would not be allowed to return in the following year; four young men who were caught talking together after taps were put on probation; a thirty-four-year-old woman was put on probation for going shopping without permission; and so on. An occasional pregnancy was duly reported with the euphemism "sent home in trouble," invariably with a notation that what caused the trouble had occurred off the campus, and not while school was in session. Even though the average age of girls entering Hampton by the mid-twenties had increased to seventeen

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years and eight months, it was considered a major concession when candidates for college degrees were permitted to escort young women to weekly movies in the college auditorium.

There had been troubles between students and the administration in the early twenties, but the seriousness of episodes increased thereafter. Signs of grave difficulty were in evidence by the winter of 1927. Student strikes had already reached epidemic proportions at Fisk, Shaw, Howard, Lincoln (in Missouri), Florida Agricultural and Industrial Institute, and elsewhere. But, according to contemporaries, nobody considered the possibility that anything could happen at Hampton. In a rising tide of student dissent, Gregg reported to the trustees that "the Institute has so far had a tranquil and propitious year," and commented on the "quiet and satisfactory progress of the Institute."

With the opening of the fall term of 1927-1928, the Administrative Board took cognizance of various problems, including unidentified trouble with respect to "the singing of plantation songs" (a ritual that some students had long protested) on Sunday evenings. Above all, there was concern about student behavior during the showing of moving pictures in Ogden Hall. It was determined to leave lights on, to solve problems that a darkened theater seemed to encourage. It occurred to no one to mention the change to students. This was the setting in which the student outburst took place during the showing of *Chang* on Saturday evening, October 8.

Sunday, October 9, was the day the singing stopped. There had been resistance in one of the dormitories to the regular Sunday morning inspection, but nothing suggesting organized protest. Singing at the compulsory morning church service was spotty. The traditional Hampton grace, at Sunday dinner, was not sung by the students for the first time in years. By suppertime, Gregg was worried. The celebrated "singing of plantation songs," a feature of the evening chapel service, had more than its usual importance on this particular Sunday. The school had as its special guest Sir Gordon Guggisberg, Governor of the Gold Coast. Also on hand was Dean W. T. B. Williams, '88, field agent of the Jeanes Fund and a graduate of Hampton and Harvard, himself a veteran of the troubled spring of 1889 when he and several

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colleagues had launched their own protest to Samuel Chapman Armstrong over practices of which they disapproved. When the audience was assembled for the vesper service, the song leader found himself offering a solo. What was planned as a showcase performance for Sir Gordon had become a shambles. Gregg quickly delivered a heartfelt prayer, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," and brought the occasion to a merciful end.

Early Monday morning, this is how things stood. Students on Saturday had taken exception to lighting arrangements for a moving picture and had created a disturbance, but the difficulty had been ironed out and the show had gone on. There had been difficulty over room inspection and refusal to sing at traditional events the next day, but the way was open for whatever exploration Gregg might want to undertake. There had recently been established a student council, thoughtfully ignored so far as the administration was concerned. The idea of listening to protesting youth apparently never crossed Gregg's mind.

Gregg summoned students to a meeting in Ogden Hall that Monday morning. Making pointed reference to the refusal of the student body to sing on Sunday, Gregg gave his charges a wholesale dressing down, emphasizing "the serious consequences of this attitude and spirit . . . [and] the importance of attendance at classes and other scheduled work as an evidence of loyalty and cooperation." Whatever Gregg may have intended to say, students understood him to have said that the cause for all student dissatisfaction was lighting arrangements at the movie on Saturday night. Students had more important things on their minds than lights in Ogden Hall. At an impromptu mass meeting after Gregg's performance, a committee of student leaders was elected to present the students' case. The first item on the agenda of the *ad hoc* Student Protest Committee was the preparation of a petition to be presented to the Administrative Board. The strike was on.

What gave students most concern was the quality of education that the college offered and the role of students in campus affairs. Given priority in "The Petition of the Hampton Students" were these elements:

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That our educational system be so revised that we shall no longer be subjected to instruction from teachers whose apparent education is below that of the average student.

That the educational system should be especially improved in the Academy [the high school, or preparatory division], the Trade School [the industrial arts division, as contrasted with the college, or teacher-training division], and the School of Agriculture.

That all teachers in the Trade School must have at least a high school training, and a full degree of competency to teach his particular trade.

That all students in the Trade School be given their courses as prescribed in the catalog.

That secondary students be allowed to study until 10:30 p.m.

That hereafter the Administrative Board shall recognize the Student Council, and consider their requests on matters affecting the student body.

That the authorities regard petitions coming from student groups.

That when the Administrative Board fails to grant requests made by student groups, that they give the students reasons why their requests are not granted.

That a competitive method of obtaining commissioned officers [in the student battalion] be adopted.

Appended were requests for more liberal policies in respect to dress, class cuts, electives, social dancing, holidays and the like, and better food and better laundry service—reflecting the normal and traditional desire of the student for his share of creature comforts.

Gregg was adamant on the point that students would have to end the strike before consideration was given the petition. Students went back to work. At a meeting with Gregg and his staff Tuesday evening, the Protest Committee expressed concern about retaliatory penalties that might be imposed. A comment by Gregg, as reported in the minutes, would soon lead to bitter misunderstanding.

In closing the meeting . . . Dr. Gregg said that membership on the Student Protest Committee would not as such be regarded as an offense or blot on the record of the individual members of the com-

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mittee; that the Board would handle each individual case on its merit, but must do what needs to be done to guard against a recurrence of the strike.

Early the next morning, Gregg's conciliatory attitude was no longer in evidence. Occupying his full attention were penalties for "flagrant insubordination." Throughout the day he stoutly resisted the efforts of staff who tried to persuade him that students had returned to classes in good faith; that steps toward resolving difficulties were making progress. Gregg called the entire student body into session that evening. He excluded women students and new students from punishment. Students who had been absent from classes were put on probation, "such probation to be removed . . . as rapidly as evidence is given of satisfactory conduct and right spirit." Those "guilty of insubordination or inciting others to insubordination" were advised that "their further discipline is still under consideration." According to a newspaper account the day following, "Dr. Gregg . . . commended the committee and the students for their orderly conduct during the days of difficulty, and further stated that the Administrative Board considered the petition of the students just and reasonable . . . that the Committee had done its job with honest sincerity and manly bearing." But the students were disturbed by the threat of retaliation against the Protest Committee, which thought Gregg had promised amnesty. The strike was on again.

Thursday morning, October 13, Hampton Institute was closed by administrative order. Four members of the Protest Committee were found "guilty of insubordination, inciting others to insubordination, and being unsatisfactory in spirit and attitude," and dismissed. It was ruled further that all returning students would have to sign the loyalty pledge, "I hereby promise to do my part to carry on the work of the Institute in loyalty, obedience, and cooperation." Those members of the Protest Committee who had escaped dismissal were suspended "for at least the balance of the present school year."

There was one significant exception in the process of getting rid of the Protest Committee. The young man in question was

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not penalized at all. An interesting feature of the discussion of campus administrative groups throughout had been an intimate knowledge of what transpired in the closed meetings of the Protest Committee. The administration had been advantaged by having an informer in the group, and the informer's contact had been the college chaplain.

The student strike of 1927 was broken. More than two hundred students were gone when classes resumed on October 25. Among the casualties were fourteen men whose academic performance had earned them the designation of "ranking scholars." Eight of these superior students were members of the Protest Committee. Of the fourteen members of the Protest Committee who were candidates for college degrees, one earned his doctorate at Pennsylvania, another at Cornell and still another at Columbia. All three have made distinctive contributions in education. Still another was appointed by Queen Elizabeth in 1966 to the Order of the British Empire, for meritorious public service, the only former Hampton student to have received this distinction. Most of the others succeeded in graduating from college elsewhere.

Dismissals and suspensions tragically depleted the ranks of Hampton's most promising undergraduates. The president of the student council, the president of the senior class, the president of the Y.M.C.A., and officers of the drama club, the society for the study of Negro history and a variety of other campus organizations were removed from the scene. With unerring accuracy the college singled out the backbone of its student leadership: young people whose subsequent careers in higher education, government service, business and public school teaching and administration would mark them as probably one of the most talented groups ever to leave a college or university campus.

In spite of the fact that Gregg himself had publicly declared that there had been no unruly conduct, later publicity releases from the school directly contradicted official statements made while the strike was in progress. Now, publicity referred to "students who are lawless," "previous bad records," "disorderly conduct and rowdyism," and the like. A puzzling aspect of these post-strike

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pronouncements is that the personnel files of the members of the Protest Committee in no instance contain evidence of bad records prior to 1927-1928. The Administrative Board did, however, arrange to make the crime fit the punishment. After the name of each member of the Protest Committee was entered a notation such as "troublesome," "undesirable," "poor influence," or some comparable comment contrary to the evaluations that had been made in the years prior to the strike. No suspended member of the Protest Committee was readmitted for the next year, or given the opportunity to hear evidence, to be confronted with his accusers, or to offer testimony in his own defense.

Initial reaction to Gregg's handling of the strike was all that he could have hoped for. National and regional newspapers accepted at face value Gregg's position that the basic reason for student discontent had to do with "the turning on of lights during a motion picture show," and wholly approved every step he had taken. As herald of an administrative tradition in higher education, George Foster Peabody put the blame for student unrest on outside agitation. In crusty letters to fellow trustees like Francis Greenwood Peabody and Robert Russa Moton, Peabody expressed his conviction that "our friend Du Bois is at the bottom of this thing." The only voices of dissent were those of intellectuals like Du Bois, some of the Hampton faculty, a few liberal journals, and one or two Negro newspapers of limited prestige and circulation.

Why did the students strike? We have to take their word for their reasons. They were convinced that the quality of their education was inadequate, that the fault lay mainly in poor teaching, that they were being treated as adolescents in a milieu where they thought of themselves as adults, that their viewpoints were not regarded as having sufficient importance to warrant attention, and that they were entitled to the good things of the college world and wanted to enjoy them this side of the kingdom of heaven.

The difficulty lay not in philosophies but in the hard realities of the here-and-now. Race did not openly come into discussion except in the press. Students never brought it up. They were as critical of black staff members as they were of white. However

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latent the race issue may have been in the troubles at Hampton, its presence must be considered. College students at Hampton did not enjoy the same rights and responsibilities as students at white colleges. And there is a real question as to whether or not those trustees who served also on the governing boards of prestigious institutions in the East would have tolerated on the campuses of such institutions student suppression that they accepted with equanimity at Hampton. Jim Crow, in any generation, has always been more lethal as a state of mind than as statute, with the insidious attraction of offering material gain, on occasion, as a substitute for manhood. Hampton students in the twenties wanted everything that white college students wanted, and white college students wanted everything that anybody wanted.

At a meeting of the trustees three months after the strike was broken, Gregg addressed himself to student complaints. He emphasized grievances about food, holidays and the laundry, implying that these rather than the inadequacy of teachers and curriculum were paramount in students' minds. But there were present in the Hampton situation at that time checks and balances personified in an Alumni Visitation Committee. This group, reporting directly to the trustees, regularly met on the campus each year to consider the state of the institution. So far as the alumni committee was concerned, reaction set in after the strike was broken. The committee reminded the trustees that they had called the fitness of some instructors to attention earlier, just as the students had called it to attention more recently. They named names. Furthermore, the chaplain's office left something to be desired. Students had been right in their belief that certain appointments were based on administrative favor. The administration was criticized because it "failed even to listen to student requests." The committee also spoke candidly of its impression that Hampton had abandoned its traditional role of trying to lead public opinion, and had adopted a policy of accommodating its policies to influential viewpoints in the surrounding society. Segregation in college entertainment policies also came in for blunt comment.

Afterthoughts made it obvious that the removal of protesting

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students had in no way got at the root of the protests; that the real work of reconstruction lay ahead. Gregg had done his best to ease tensions on the campus. But Hampton Institute, more than Gregg, was in trouble. At the trustee meeting in April, 1929, the alumni committee expressed its concern about "the difference between administration and teachers" and "the lack of cooperation and unity in the college." In the eyes of the committee, "the great problem at Hampton is an administrative one."

At this point, the trustees themselves revealed an almost unbelievable naïveté with respect to the direction in which the college had been moving, and revealed also the wide information gap between Gregg's reports to the Board and the actual course of events. Doubtless with the best of intentions, Gregg had neglected to include information relevant to the institution. The trustees, on their part, had made no inquiry into incipient problems, of which they could hardly have been unaware, before the problems got out of control. With the college verging on chaos, trustee discussion centered on the anticipated discontinuance of the high school division, toward which the college had obviously been moving, as enrollments in the college programs went upward and preparatory enrollments went downward. It was pointed out that Hampton "would fall in line with the conventional idea of college education if it gives up the Academy," although falling in line with the conventional idea of college education was precisely what Hampton had been engaged in since 1920. After nearly ten years of building up a college program and phasing out high school work, the Board was now considering whether or not this might be a good thing.

Gregg recognized that a change of administration was an essential step toward resolving the difficulties that beset the college, and submitted his resignation in May. The Board concurred in Gregg's decision, with a well-deserved tribute to his many accomplishments during eleven trying years. And it was in the many accomplishments of James Edgar Gregg, rather than in the storms that marked the course he had to navigate, that the progress of the college can best be measured during the time that he was at the helm.

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A boarding school that offered instruction scarcely through the level of a regular high school when Gregg took over, Hampton had become a college offering bachelor's degrees in six major fields and a master's degree at the time of his departure. Discarding an unwritten rule that only whites could teach advanced courses, Gregg appointed a substantial number of Negroes in the new collegiate program. He designated Negroes to head important academic divisions, and gave strong support to talented Negroes who were on the staff in various assignments at the time of his arrival. As much as or more than any Hampton administrator, Gregg founded and promoted programs related to the contribution of the Negro in American civilization and the cultural heritage from Africa. He sparked the intellectual life of the campus with lecturers like a fiery young preacher from West Virginia named Mordecai Johnson, barely started on his way to eminence, and with well-established figures like Alain Laing, Carter Woodson, W. E. B. Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson and others.

The nagging question is how a man like Gregg, whose private correspondence and personal life reflect social attitudes and ideals virtually above reproach, and who worked so effectively to develop the role of Negro professionals in the college, could have so completely misunderstood the aspirations of Negro youth. His limited social exposures, prior to coming to Hampton, were part of it. The influence of calculating individuals, who were only too glad to guide him through unfamiliar social relationships, was another factor. But perhaps the most destructive element in Gregg's situation was a characteristic of many professing liberals in education, the church and public life: an ingrained habit of maintaining careful distinction between pronouncement of liberal faith on the one hand, and social action on the other. Thus Gregg could and did strongly criticize President A. Lawrence Lowell for excluding Negroes from a freshman residence hall at Harvard, six hundred miles away, but remained apparently insensitive to what was in the hearts and minds of his own students a few feet from his office. It was by no means lack of good conscience and desire to please his fellowman, but perhaps an overabundance of these virtues, that seems to have clouded his vision. Hardly alone

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in responsibility for the troubles that were part of his time, James Edgar Gregg left office with basic issues that had come to the fore at Hampton, as elsewhere, still unresolved and awaiting his successors, and his successors' successors.

Postscript: The 1969 Demonstrations

On May 24, 1969, I was flying down to Hampton Institute to attend pre-Board committee meetings, meetings with students and faculty that had been established in the 1940s and had served the Institute well in the years between. I had spent the past weekend in Cambridge, in the aftermath of the student demonstrations there, wondering why Harvard had been unable to learn anything from Columbia. That morning the New York *Times* had appeared with a picture of President Perkins of Cornell with two dissident student leaders. At Hampton, Marshall Hall, the administration building, had been occupied the day before by about half the student body. The occupation was orderly: the boys on one floor, girls on another, patrol squads and a diet of bread and water. The student requests were reasonable: higher quality education, a request that the Board ask two of the most popular faculty members, one of them white and one black, who had resigned in protest against the slow pace of educational change, to reconsider their resignations. Total amnesty was asked for the whole group of protesting students. No police had been called in. No court order was executed. The president and dean had stayed in the administration building all night but the students had refused to talk with them, insisting on dealing with the Board of Trustees. So, that Thursday, first the nondissenting student leaders of the somewhat ineffectual student government came and talked with the members of the Board; then a committee from the group occupying the administration building came. Would we, I kept wondering aloud, do better than Harvard or Cornell? Would we be able to profit by their experience? I had not, however, reckoned with one crucial fact. On our present Board of Trustees there were five people who had been on the Hampton campus in 1927 and seen the school stripped of its student leaders. Three had been students

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then; two had been staff. All five were determined that what had happened in 1927 *should not happen again.* More than anything else—more than the communications channels that had been set up in the 1940s by President Bridgman, more than the fact that our president was a Cornell man, more than the discipline and reasonableness of the students who had refrained from vandalism and violence, and had rejected the proffered offer of help from the local version of Black Panthers—it was this memory of the 1927 strike that carried us through to a peaceful conclusion. So where Columbia did not learn from Berkeley, nor Harvard from Columbia, laterally, Hampton in the present had learned from Hampton in the past, when the learning—over a period of forty-two years—was embodied in living people who remembered. The issues were negotiated, the students came out of the administration building, the strike was over. And we were left with a question. How can institutions learn faster from one another? Subsequent events left a second question. Although the issues on which the students negotiated with the Board had not contained a demand—*pro forma* in such cases—for the resignation of the president, this came up later. The president responded with a questionnaire asking the students who had demanded "quality education" to vote for the continuation or discontinuation of each of the forward looking programs at Hampton. The dissidents, robbed of any real confrontation by the reasonableness of their own demands and the reasonableness of the trustees, took this questionnaire amiss, as insulting the students by placing them in a position where it would look as if they either were against these good program items, or had endorsed the president. Discontent has flared anew, with, I think, a further lesson: a too reasonable conclusion to an emotionally charged situation leaves both sides unsatisfied. So we have a further problem—how to achieve catharsis without doing damage to an institution to which, in fact, all parties to these confrontations are committed.

MARGARET MEAD

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Letter from Europe

ANTHONY BURGESS

A little American tour this last early spring, or late winter, took me to universities and colleges in the state of Washington, at Vancouver, in California, Colorado and New England. As always, I was struck by the courtesy, receptivity, personableness and passion of the students, although I was saddened and bored by a certain conformity. As far north as Simon Fraser University, and as far south as Los Angeles, there was little variation in the language and dress of rebellion. The continuation of the war in Vietnam makes the students throw their cookies. The materialistic illiberalism of the American bourgeoisie is countered by the same weary icons—Che and Mao. A film Englishman is recognized from his bowler and umbrella; a real student has to look like a combination of frontiersman and guru. Young people have an important job—that of surprising the old with ever-changing gestures of revolt. When the gestures become set, they are as familiar and lovable as Coca-Cola signs and just as promising of rapture and uplift.

The manifestations of Black Power I found depressing. The tyranny of the nominal is at work in the so-called Departments of Black Studies. I had the feeling several times that if an empty building labeled BLACK STUDIES were allowed to dominate the campus, progressive honor would be satisfied. But such studies as exist are profoundly unrealistic. There is little point in black Americans learning Swahili unless they propose, which none of them does, emigrating to Mombasa or Zanzibar. To give credits for soul cooking or tribal-style eurythmics must seem to debase higher education.

Black Studies don't, in fact, exist, any more than do White Studies. A course that encloses St. Augustine, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Coleridge-Taylor, Paul Robeson and Papa Doc, because they are all black, is as absurd as one that deals with Robert Louis Stevenson, Joseph Stalin, Mark Twain and Salvador Dali because they all had moustaches. If Black Studies are designed to promote a vicarious pride in the cultural achievements of Africa, then I see a glimmering of justification. But such achievements are best studied under classifications that have been long hallowed by academic tradition—anthropology and art.

In a California college, I saw books thrown through a window. They included Webster's Dictionary, Frazer's *The Golden Bough* and the *Complete Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley*—the works of three revolutionaries. One must, I suppose, beware of the stock response that calls up memories of Nazi book burning. But I am shocked, in my old-fashioned way, by any such violent rejection of traditional learning. Various faculty people, up and down the country, had taught themselves to feel no outrage, to judge from the calmative arguments with which they countered my own anger. The time had come, they told me, to consider the whole question of book learning from the very roots. What reasonable answer could anyone give to a student who asked, Why should we read books? I must confess that my own answers seem very tame: Because social progress depends on our under-

✪ *Urgent Copy*, a selection of ANTHONY BURGESS' literary criticism, was published last spring.

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standing the past; because new ideas don't sprout *in vacuo* but spring from the study, and sometimes rejection, of old ones; because there is such a thing as aesthetic pleasure obtainable from even very ancient books.

The students respond, very logically, to all this by telling me that the new media (they have at least heard of, if not read, McLuhan) are synesthetically enlightening and, moreover, immediate: books can't compete with TV. They say also that aesthetic transports are best obtained through mind-opening drugs. Finally, they doubt whether the preelectronic age can teach anything to the age of the transistor and the computer.

Needless to say, the students who talk like this are not training to become surgeons or engineers. It is, in England as much as America, the students concerned with subjects that have no exact discipline who are able to find the time to indulge in the luxury of protest. I sometimes have an image of the life process or at least the *Zeitgeist* encouraging the potential humanists to dissipate their time and energy in slogans and demonstrations while the technological Conquistadores quietly prepare—in their disciplined laboratories and fat fireproof libraries—to take over the world. There'll be no protesting then.

I also sometimes doubt the absolute sincerity of student protest. A university course involves a lot of work, and the young of today, taught by the press and the commodity-sellers that youth is an achievement in itself, are not anxious to justify their existence existentially. They feel guilty at their boredom with *The Faerie Queene, The Laws of Ecclesiastical Politie* or *The Critique of Pure Reason,* and they try to stifle the guilt with accusations of greater guilt in the world outside the campus. Shouting and burning, defenestrating the memory of mankind, they feel at least they are doing *something,* not just sitting on their butts, and this palliates the guilt somewhat.

It is, I know, useless to throw at them lessons from one's student past, but memories of what it was like to be a student in a British provincial university, while the 1939-45 war was beginning, are bound to suffuse my own attitude to them and make sympathy difficult. Like many others of my class, I believed that to go to a university was an honor and that one must pay for the honor with hard work. Entrance to the university was no right, even with the possession of high scholastic qualifications. There were few scholarships: my own city of Manchester offered three annually. Fees were subsidized, but they still had to be paid. I had to work for two years between leaving school and going to the university—as a pub pianist, a private tutor and a deliverer of tobacco orders. This enabled me to save enough money to enter the School of English Language and Literature. I wanted my money's worth, although I fear I did not always get it.

There was too much bad lecturing—paper phonetics, the droning of Old Norse, dogmatic evaluations, the transmutation of golden poetry into prose dross. We should have protested, but we didn't—not many of us, anyway. If you didn't like the course, it was implied by the hierarchy, you could get out: there were plenty of youngsters trying to get in. But learning, even if not well purveyed, was respected in those days for its own sake. We were still in the Middle Ages. We tried to climb out of them in our own little protest sessions, which usually ended with collections of money—there was not much of it around—for orphans of the Spanish Civil War or, a little later, Jewish refugees from Germany.

I remember taking my finals while bombs were dropping on Manchester. We were in the huge glass-roofed gymnasium and we translated *Beowulf* while the air war went irrelevantly on outside. Strangely, it was the Anglo-Saxon that seemed real, not the war. It still seems to me that it would have been better to be blown up while wrestling with ancient syntax than while raising fretful and ineffectual fists at the bombers. Today's students will say, perhaps rightly, that that war wouldn't have happened if we'd protested more and studied less. But the only thing on behalf of which we could properly have protested was the right to study *Beowulf,* meaning the right to study *The*

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Rights of Man, meaning the right to read Freud and listen to Mendelssohn. And these rights are best proclaimed by being fulfilled.

The students are having their way in the new universities, entrance to which is a right and is paid for by the state. The results of indiscipline, victimization of the faculty, the elevation of racial rights above the demands of scholarship, can easily be foreseen. There will be these secondary universities, with very fluid standards or no standards at all, and there will be real universities, in which real work is done and there is little time for protest. The real universities will, in time, sink to a secondary level, and real real universities will supervene. This will go on forever. There may also exist the farce of "parity of esteem"—a shibboleth invented by British educational levelers, who taught that all postprimary education was of the same value, even though children learned atomic physics in one kind of school and illiterate gypsies struggled with monosyllables in another. It is an aspect of the egalitarian heresy that informs all progressive politics.

The real, and heroic, student protest takes place beyond the Iron Curtain, where the resuscitated light of a humane philosophy tries to advance against the totalitarian darkness, although it rarely prevails. American student protest is a weed not of democracy but of a society that is devoted to consumption. It is too often an aspect of antithought, which is nurtured by the push-button demons of instant luxury. Protest is a type of vacancy, a time-passing soap opera, something you do instead of work, instant uplift. To be a student these days is too often a matter of finding something spectacular to make out of your excessive leisure. The submissive medieval student in rags, anxious to cram his brain with useless theological nonsense, is, by comparison, not really a pitiable and ignoble figure.

Much of my time in Malta, since returning from the United States, has been spent in writing a new life of Shakespeare. New? —hardly, since there are no new facts, and one's style sets into an unedifying mélange of the stock robust (ale, lice, wenching) and the timidly speculative, which is everybody's style when writing a Shakespeare biography. I ought to be ashamed, but I am doing it for the money. I feel the accusatory eyes of ten million American students boring into me. Would I not be better off protesting about something or other? Well, not really better off. I have a wife, a son and an old age to support, and protest is for the Mailers, who have made their money, or the unencumbered young. The book will look very lovely when it comes out, full of colored pictures of Mary Fitton and the Earl of Pembroke, and it will stand, unread although regularly dusted, on several thousand coffee tables. I am prostituting myself, am I not? No, I am merely providing a salable commodity. Those who burble about keeping things pure are lucky to be above economics.

I think, though, I have made one small discovery, or rather I have interpreted something that has always been there and ignored by Shakespeare scholars. In *Love's Labour's Lost,* the pedant Holofernes sings six notes which Shakespeare puts in sol-fa notation and which, in staff notation, would read C D G A E F. This is a musical theme composed by Shakespeare and still unexploited by musicians. It is a tolerable ground bass and can be extended into a useful fugue subject. Repeated a tritone higher or lower, it gives a twelve-tone *Grundstimmung* ready-made for atonalists. If I were a Clementi I would commission a number of composers to do something with it and publish the results in a handsome volume. This, I think, is the only marginal Shakespearian thing that has not yet been done. I give the idea as a small gesture of love and esteem to American scholars.

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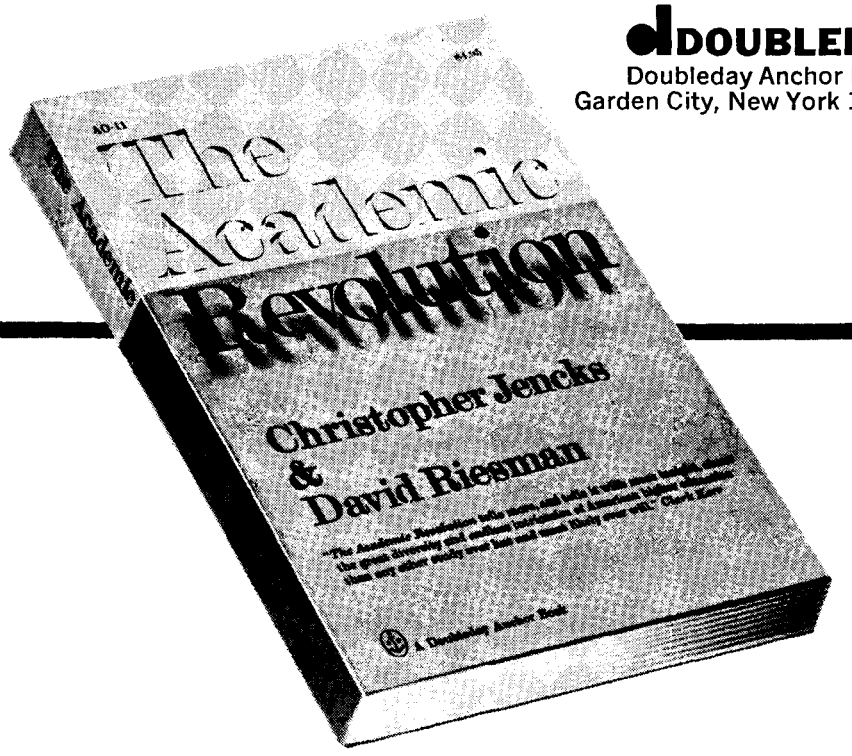

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The Revolving Bookstand . . . . . .

Reform or Revolution?

ADRIENNE KOCH

In the past five years, student rebellions on American campuses have become an expectable feature of the academic calendar. The dates are rarely pinpointed in advance, so that unlike the Big Games and other muscle ceremonies of the campus, neither the partisan nor the merely curious can arrange to be on hand to view the happenings. But trust "telly" to be entirely dependable. It rushes to the campus with the speed of light, hospitably zooms in on motley student rebels and their antics, thus making it possible for every American family to enjoy after dinner the agonizing trials that are tearing apart our colleges and universities—from the greatest to the smallest (which must prove their mettle by showing that they too know "how to make a rebellion"). No one knows how profound and lasting present hostilities and campus disorders are. Yet a sizable literature has grown up attempting to document the "great" rebellions; to interpret, diagnose, prescribe or prophesy the "essential meaning" of this brutally revolutionary era.

Joseph J. Schwab of the University of Chicago, with *College Curriculum and Student Protest,** and Immanuel Wallerstein of Columbia, with *University in Turmoil: The Politics of Change,*† have entered the lists of faculty spokesmen who try to explain the baffling time of troubles that has come to plague American higher education. Their challenging additions to the growing literature of student protest unintentionally present us with a marked study in contrasts. The titles of their books only partially reveal the wide degree of difference between them. They go on different paths, in focus of interest, sensitivity of awareness, dedication to education, and diagnosis of causes, as well as prescription for potential future cures. Educators can ill afford to ignore the developed positions set forth in these two sharply opposed studies. Both books therefore require closer examination.

"Student protest" figures prominently in the title of Professor Schwab's book; yet his major focus is not on the *specifics* of the protest, nor on its extreme irrational wings —but more centrally on questions of educational curriculum, policy, practices that may be the underlying causes of what students are protesting about. Obeying the Delphic oracle's injunction, "Know thyself," he probes the faults of the academic community in its casual, crass, confused or otherwise inept management of the tasks of collegiate education. He takes student protest as a series of symptoms that point to the location of the disease—and the disease is in the curriculum. He is positive that the *extremes* of fanatical protest are products of the private illness of a certain small number of students, and *not* attributable to lacks or deficiencies in the curriculum. They are, in short, personality disorders, and treatable (if at all) by psychological therapy outside the college community. His interest centers, then, on the protesting students who are educable, and who, he implies, have not usually had their

* *University of Chicago Press. $4.95.*

† *Atheneum. $4.95.*

✪ ADRIENNE KOCH is professor of American history at the University of Maryland. During the past year she taught a course on the history of student unrest. She is the author of *Philosophy for a Time of Crisis* and numerous studies in American intellectual history.

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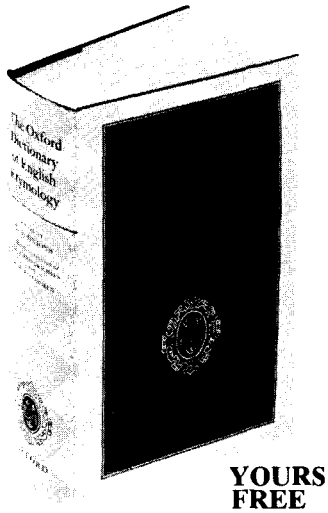

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needs met by the college curriculum. They protest, let us say, in lieu of studying, because the studies (content, methods, meaningful and exhilarating participation in the life of the mind) are *not* challenging them to a vital experience of learning.

Despite Schwab's use of a metaphoric language of medical illness and cure, he is on the right track when he urges educators to look hard at their own practices and assumptions, at the college scene and what it does to students, for part of the alienation that explodes into campus disorders. To be sure, the same educational theories and practices that jogged the last generation along the road to the degree ceremony are largely in effect today—but the vast expansion of the student population, and the increasing educational costs borne by the federal government, have introduced new tensions and aggravated earlier faults. So, needless to say, have the mortification and distrust of American leadership that is bound up with the Vietnam war! Finally, the free market where competitive faculty bargaining buzzes on has not been an unmitigated blessing (except to the highest bidders among the faculty)—for it fosters the loss of institutional loyalty and the deterioration of allegiance to the duties of teaching as a calling. Yet all these social and population changes, important as they are, do not constitute the underlying cause of student unhappiness. The most radical cause, according to Schwab, is the faulty conception of "knowledge" that is reflected in the prevailing curriculum, and in the whole spectrum of the college community and its work. He knows, moreover, that mere tinkering with new devices (an added "black studies" program here, the abolition of the grading system there) will not materially correct the fundamental fault.

What exactly, then, are the root flaws in higher education that worry the author? Prominent among his charges are the following: that college education of the "supermarket," prepackaged variety appears to give the student (consumer) a vast array of choices. But this is essentially a fraud. The wrappers *conceal* the products within. "Opaque" descriptions in college catalogues mislead the students about what the courses are really about; worse still, the survey lecture courses that "introduce" students to a field present them with fragmented conclusions to be learned, but withhold the developing understanding of the actual assumptions and methods, the range of necessary error and skills, that are bound up in each particular area of knowledge. Examinations then "test" students for the wrong purpose: to recall and repeat received conclusions. And so four years go by, far too often, without developing the students' awareness of the *meaning* and *interrelations* between so-called "fields" of knowledge—without engaging him in the art of recovery of meaning, and teaching him how to conduct an independent scrutiny of what is believed to be "true" at the present point in the history of a subject.

He arrives at this conclusion—that the curriculum and the community of the college are disordered and unsound—from several strong convictions. He believes, first, that there is a "hunger for community" in students, and when it is not met it is deliberately sought or created in an ersatz form. Nothing is more common than student reports of the exhilaration they experienced during sit-ins, for example. Schwab hastens to point out that the students, when pressed, can find no cognitive content in these experiences; they are emotive, wholly. But he believes that the creation of an academic community is a real need—and one of its functions must be to engage the student in discovering his present "competences" while refining, strengthening and augmenting those competences in a consistent pattern of progress. He further believes that a second function of a true academic community is to show, to make *visible,* authentic "life-styles" of dedicated scholars, whose pursuit of meaning and truth, and growing mastery of techniques, can serve as models of a good life to the students. One recalls here the Aristotelian emphasis upon the great or good man as a model to his fellow citizens, or to youngsters who find a pattern to emulate. Schwab's insight, negatively put, is that *invisible* faculty members, who turn up for

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theatrically-staged lectures, or for boring ones, and then disappear from the students' minds and view, destroy community and foster alienation. *Nobody* belongs to most college communities today—another way of saying, there are colleges with courses, but not a meaningful society in which students and teachers develop mutual regard and friendly collaboration in the enterprise of learning.

The college community that the author sees as an ideal, of course, includes more than the visibility of professorial life-styles in which the students can find admirable patterns of lives dedicated to the unending pursuit of truth. Schwab insists that a college community is not a brotherhood, nor a society of equals. He observes—doubtless with the slogans of "student participation" and "student democratic self-government" in mind—that students are transient members of the university community while the administrators and faculty are "the more enduring class of University citizens." A college is a society with differentiated classes, each of which has different duties, functions and privileges. He states that if students are to be educated, teachers must teach. "If administrators are to keep the wheels oiled, obtain needed resources, mend the lanes and fences between the college and its neighbors, respond to the urgent, maintain balance and conversation among the college parts, their limitations of time and energy must be respected and they must be accorded powers commensurate with their responsibilities." Finally, the community of a college lies in taking full account of the *diversities* of interest, talent, experiences and habits of thought of its several groups and innumerable members. Therefore the community proper to a college is *"a community of collaboration."*

Schwab cherishes no illusions that the arts and restraints necessary to achieve "a community of collaboration" will appeal to the student demagogues. These are interested, for reasons of their own, in the capture of power—an aim foreign to their function as students, and destructive of the community in which they should see they must play a contributing role. In any event, he has explicitly put aside what he estimates as the two or three percent of student activists who are "vicious junior demagogues and cornbelt storm troopers bent on attaining a following by kicking their father surrogates in the teeth and trying to usurp their functions." In one of his more perceptive psychographs, he defines the traits of this extreme wing of protestors:

> They combine ignorance of worldly conditions, handicaps of appearance and manner, considerable native ability and equally considerable interpersonal incompetences in such a fashion as to produce an enormous greed for power and prestige, an infinite capacity for generating righteous indignation and the entirely correct conviction that only the destruction of public faith in legality and the shattering of social order will produce the success to which they are sure they are entitled.

These activists are a threat to the existence of colleges and universities—let alone to the ideal college community. Schwab is unambiguous in his attitude: he is prepared to be tough with them, and he concerns himself with them only to the extent that they find ways of persuading other students to fight their battles for them.

Perhaps the persuasive appeal of this group would fail to work if the house of academe put its own affairs in order. It is this thrust inward, to question the theories, the facts, and the depth of the knowledge fostered in the academy, that provides the basic underpinning of Schwab's thesis. From two sides, the author is critical of the knowledge purveyed by the academic brotherhood. From one side, he deplores the failure to enlighten students about the complex realities of human choices. From another side, he charges that theory is unduly separated from facts and things, and overly emphasized in the presentation of knowledge as a body of completed conclusions, rather than as an ongoing discipline of inquiry.

Consequently, he proceeds to make concrete suggestions about how to teach the complexities of moral choice. He constructs a course of readings (Hume, *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals;* Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics;* Dewey, *Human Na-*

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ture and Conduct), in the hope that these readings, if properly explored, will heighten the student's sense of practical wisdom, and the deliberative activities that flow from it. In connection with this, he elsewhere suggests the use of Plato's Socratic texts (the *Apology, Crito, Phaedo)* in discussing civil disobedience rather than relying mainly upon Thoreau and Gandhi—for Plato rules out a simplistic opposition between justice, on the one hand, and law on the other. These teachings about the nature of human conduct and moral choice are valuable for the double aim of collegial education—which he sees as "characteral as well as intellectual education."

His own perspective on the nature of knowledge notes the separation too often made between the apparent rationality of science and the theoretical realm versus the apparent nonrationality of the ethical and the practical. He is eager to employ the arts of discussion and inquiry to demonstrate the artificiality of such a separation. And, for this end, he proposes various courses in which scientific papers, from the hard to the soft sciences, and on into the realm of literature and aesthetics, can serve to make clear that every bit of knowledge won (in any field) is the product of hypotheses and guesses, conceptual assumptions and constructs, and facts that must be probed and interpreted and organized before they can support or disconfirm the hoped-for solution. He is then no respecter of departmental "fields" and would subscribe to the rubric: he who does not dare to cross fields shall not enter the temple of knowledge!

In this manner, Schwab is replying to another insistent slogan of revolutionary protest—namely, that subjects must be "relevant" to the immediate problems of society, and must take account of immediate needs. Inquiry and theory must be free of limiting and fixed barriers of such "relevance." An atmosphere of disengagement, of freedom to inquire, and to that extent to alienate oneself from merely present problems, is necessary to the vast enterprise of understanding the world and preparing students not only for today, but for tomorrow—and even for the remembrance of yesterday. New policies and practices (in government, for example) will arise "only if some of yesterday's scholars and researchers were free enough, remote enough, *irrelevant* enough to the . . . moving problems of their time, to pursue enquiries which were, at that time, equally 'irrelevant.' . . . Hence, the adequate freedom, the adequate alienation, is not only freedom and alienation from current problems of social import but also, in some degree, disengagement from the main currents of present research and scholarship." Novel solutions to new problems, in short, need a very wide ambience of alternative kinds and strands of knowledge to come about.

There are new responsibilities and new roles that students should be given in the reformed curriculum that Schwab envisages. Students may, for example, be coopted for teaching-fellow roles (senior students, that is). Their criticisms of teachers and curricula are to be solicited and given careful consideration in administrative action. But where students are hampered by ignorance of the "arts of the practical" they are not to be flattered or catered to by a misguided cult of deference to youth alone.

Professor Schwab's book bears evidence of the author's long and distinguished career as a teacher, in its discriminating observations about the conduct of students, faculty and administrators. The author was twice selected to receive the Quantrell Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching at the University of Chicago. Human behavior, and the complexities of the hard choices adults must make, are conspicuous centers of his interest in discussing educational philosophy and policy. One catches the sound and pattern of remembered dialogues with students: both the students and the professor appear to have been deeply engaged, alive with "the adventure of ideas." Schwab, who is presently professor of education and William Rainey Harper Professor of the Natural Sciences at the University of Chicago, demonstrates his familiarity with the whole curriculum of liberal arts, not merely with his own special fields of biology and zoology. In

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addition to the broad grasp of knowledge that enriches this book, the reader can sense the seasoned educator who has served on numerous high-level committees of scholars and been engaged in the problems of curriculum design. While this experience comes at a price in felicity of prose style, Schwab's readers at least will recognize that their guide has been through the educational wilderness and knows the lures of deceptively simple plans, the false ways-out.

This book has been hailed by one early reviewer as "the definitive handbook for creative academic revolution." This enthusiastic endorsement is more misleading than helpful. To the extent that it attempts to be a "handbook," Schwab's analysis is not free of a certain tone of certitude, an edge of vanity that may be the natural outcropping of too many years spent in one institution (the University of Chicago) where the author's teaching talents doubtless made him a great man among lesser luminaries. I find that the later sections of his book, the chapters dealing with "the curricular prescriptions" and "the community prescriptions," are marred by faults of overspecificity and an attendant dogmatism. Although there are abundant lists of "needs" and "curricular resources," abundant educational illustrations, models of suggested courses, and shrewd observations of what goes on under the name of education within our colleges, there is ever-present a special language of the author's own devising that interferes with clear and vigorous definition of his ultimate position. He is, for example, positively addicted to supposedly general terms such as: "privations of competence," "arts of recovery," "curricular resources," "affective transactions," "curricular prescriptions," "articulations" of thought with things, "the assay of debate" and "intellectual competences." Now each of these privately prized phrases of Schwab's has a range of meaning, but it is not open to immediate inspection, nor does the author make crystal clear precisely why he must work with this burdensome vocabulary. He does not hide his contempt for "educationese" prose, and yet his substitute is not entirely a victory for clarity or charm.

I find, on the contrary, that it is not Professor Schwab's "curricular prescriptions" nor his "community prescriptions" but the preceding penetrating commentary on the fragile texture of that most mysterious of all communities—the so-called "community" of scholars and learners—that is more valuable than the "handbook" function. It is precisely, then, where we feel the imprint of Schwab's mature skill and perception, and sense his *unfinished* groping for educational principles and policies that can take us beyond the "supermarket" design of higher education, that his work proves to be most suggestive and inimical to the oversimplifications by which educators and educatees (alas) have heretofore tended to live. In short, it is Schwab's *realism,* his sensitivity to the *multiverse* of persons, policies, procedures and patterns of behavior compresent on a single campus that proves illuminating.

If the fanatics among the hard-core student revolutionaries and the aging romantics who would gladly serve as water-carriers for the students' rites of anarchistic purification could only be made to listen—Schwab would have something sensible to tell them. But especially among these two groups—*who listens?* Consequently, it is one more mark of the author's common sense to rule out these groups from the center of his analysis. He addresses himself to the moderate and "silent" majority of students, and to those reasonable sympathizers with the radicals who for a variety of accidental reasons get caught up but briefly in unjustifiable protest and violence. Similarly, he addresses himself to those colleagues—both junior and senior—who still are open to the suspicion that they are not God, nor His chosen vessels, and who are eager to abide by a reasonable examination of what is to be called "relatively good" and "relatively bad."

One is tempted to ask what is new about Schwab's critique of the curriculum? Dewey's ideal of critical intelligence, his stress upon the methods of inquiry, which cut

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across the sciences and the arts, uniting these supposedly divergent areas by their common employment of critical appraisal of facts and values, preached much the same message almost half a century ago! I cannot see that Schwab takes us in a different direction from that of critical reflection as the basic function of good teaching and the beginning of true learning—in any area. But there are two points to be made here. First, Schwab is asking, on the basis of very discriminating and masterful observation of the college community in action, why this ideal of critical inquiry has failed to be honored *in practice*. Second, there are modalities and concretions in Schwab's program that are either new with him, or new from the point of view of what we may derive from the Deweyan philosophy. It is clear that while Schwab has absorbed much (most likely more than he is aware of) from Dewey, he is not consciously within that experimental-naturalistic tradition. He seems closer to the naturalism of Aristotle, with a sophisticated and well-tamed hope for an educational philosophy of "first principles," and a typically Aristotelian ethic of "the good man," whose life is a *model* to be imitated (by practical example) in the lives of younger fellow citizens. Schwab rightly sees not only the breakdown of "law and order" on the campus, but the vacuity of "life-styles" personified there by its high-priced but small-souled faculty. He not only yearns, then, for a richer and more sophisticated unity of the dynamic knowledge-process (perhaps *à la* Whitehead?) but he also proposes to build the bridge that will bring the young and inexperienced students across the gap safely in terms of character, because they will be provided glimpses and indubitable exemplifications of the life-styles of dedicated men, wise in the arts and knowledge of their discipline, and in the love of communicating it with passion and clarity to the students. It is as though the Great Books tradition of the old Chicago vintage had been aerated and given a new power by drafts upon the best moderns as well as the ancients among our philosophers and educators. This is to say that Schwab is "eclectic," but neither shallow nor second-hand.

The blurred edges, along with the richness of content, of Schwab's study are not present in the clear and brief treatment Professor Wallerstein offers in his *University in Turmoil*. If Schwab's book takes us *inward* to the complexities of the human members of the academic community and to the methods in use for "educating" students, Wallerstein's book directs our attention *outward*. As his subtitle informs us, he is interested in "The Politics of Change." He addresses himself to questions about the relationship of universities to the federal government, to the process of fostering changes in the nation at large, and to internal questions of the powers and rights of faculties, students, administrators and trustees. His book, while surely the outgrowth of his concern with the Columbia student revolt of 1968, and of prior campus uprisings, is concerned with the social problems common to all the industrialized countries of the world.

The character of these causative politico-social changes is swiftly and, it must be said, simplistically sketched. The world after 1918 was an unsettled one, both in its international and national orders. From that time to the 1960s, "conservative" forces worked to re-create political equilibrium, an effort that met with success by the early 1960s. In between, the challenge of fascism had brought about the Second World War, which was "politically" a coalition of center and left forces against right forces. The close of that war saw the "temporary eclipse of the right," or, as the author prefers to phrase it: "the right sought after 1945 to present itself in center garb." But at that point in history, the Soviet Union had become strong enough to claim its place as a major industrial power and to seek its own imperial economic outlets; and hence there was a "left force" to challenge and contend with the center forces that governed the United States, Great Britain and France. Since these latter three "center" forces harbored internal left movements, the center received influxes from the right—shifting "rightward" in the period

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of the Cold War. Our "containment" policy vis-à-vis Soviet expansion, combined with the rapid promotion of welfare state policies, deprived the left of massive new support in the Western countries and ended in the period of *détente*. The author then offers his analysis of the real meaning of "*détente*"—a process and ploy by which the Soviet Union received partial access to the rest of the world, by redefining itself as a center force internationally. By 1963, "the year of the test-ban treaty, the center seemed to triumph everywhere, but especially in Europe and North America." With this relative stability achieved, a "true consensus" came about, where political antagonisms no longer had structured outlets.

Intellectuals saw this development and understandably turned to "nihilistic violence" as a weapon to smash the lethargy and rebuild a "left-right dichotomy in politics." The resentment that powered this political development in the world festered with special intensity in the United States where the demoralizing Vietnam war speeded up rebellion on the campuses. The government that paid the bills for new student opportunities, for an expanding plant, and special faculties, was rapidly deauthorized by newly aware leftist students and faculty, who concentrated on "secret research links—with the CIA and with the Defense Department." Thus the devil of the piece, from the author's perspective, was the "pervasive triumph of center politics and the cynicism it bred." He considers the explosions in the universities of Europe and America in 1967-68 "the result of this erosion of legitimacy of the governments."

Wallerstein does not hesitate to show his agreement with the radical students and faculty who have objected to collaboration with the United States government. As a political realist, he points out the danger of losing government support for the universities, but also is happy to note that each radical questioning of the legitimacy of the government weakens it to some extent. The government is stronger, on the whole, however, than universities, and it could survive by by-passing the universities and creating research centers for its defense needs. Therefore, as a matter of strategy, Wallerstein cautions that radicals consider whether they are placing excessive energy in their battle to disassociate the university from the government. Should not their energy be better aimed at a more direct effort to change government policy? So far as concerns his international goal of reallocating the resources in the world, he concludes the university can have at best only a minor effect. It is otherwise, however, in the effort to change the allocation of resources *within* our own country. Here the university, the author confides, "can play a far more central role." Can, and should.

In a brisk analysis of what has come about in "capitalist" countries like the United States to transform the function of higher education, Wallerstein concedes that welfare state features have muted the ferocity of class conflicts to the point where they pose no real threat to political stability. This has been accompanied by the phenomenon of the lower ethnic groups making up a disproportionately large part of the relatively disadvantaged. Since universities in America, at least, have become "mechanisms" to sift and train the growing professional cadres of society, access to the university becomes critical for the vast majority of the population. For this reason, university policies on admissions and examinations must change to keep pace with the struggle to change the ethnic distribution of rewards. Wallerstein would drop objective standards for admissions, since they result in maintaining the existing ethnic allocation of rewards. With respect to the acceptance of both black students and teachers, he finds a growing willingness in the academic world to adjust the standards in favor of socially disadvantaged groups. He discounts the worry over what such policies will do to the academic level of the universities, taking comfort from the opinion that this would prove "a short-run loss." He says: "In the long run, such ac-

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tion would have the social effect of liberating much talent that is now constrained by the legacy of past discrimination." Indeed, his sympathies outrun what he can reasonably establish, for he asserts that "Over time, the net social effect would be a raising or at least a maintenance of the academic standards of the university, as well as greater social justice within the society."

In other ways, too, the university, as a property-owner for example, is seriously involved in social struggle. Here the author wields a very wide brush indeed: he sees the college or university campus, in a city setting, as a kind of walled fortress surrounded by hostile ghettos. He is ready therewith to "modify substantially the whole concept of a campus, or concentrated land area, and to substitute for it the image of a core area with projecting radii, so that the institution is intermeshed into the urban environment." Having thus casually disposed of the "whole concept of a campus," he admonishes universities to accept routine social services in their immediate neighborhoods as a normal duty. One is left to infer that whatever time is left over after intensive efforts to meet responsibilities to assist in the process "of fundamental social change" may be permitted to focus on the business of education proper.

These bold sociological recommendations flow from the author's professional specialism, and from his private schema of values, including his conception of what a university is for. The model of governance he has in mind is that of "participatory democracy"—a model that he mistakenly assumes is the one formative of the American Republic, and that he easily assumes should be transferred to institutions of higher education. He believes that "in the long run" (that weasel phrase again) increased participation by students and faculty will improve the quality of the decisions taken. "The more people," he announces, "who are involved in the decisions, the more likely it is that all good ideas will be culled, and therefore the more rational will be the decisions." Despite the history that dates back two-and-a-half millenia to contravene the "wisdom" of this pronouncement, Wallerstein feels no truthful constraint to modify his assertion. Short shrift is given to the argument that maturity is essential to wise decisions. Everyone knows, rebuts Wallerstein, "that minimum maturity exists in all adult citizens of a state and that all permanent residents should be eligible to be citizens." Note the insurance device of the word "minimum" maturity; and note, once again, the simple passage from political rights of suffrage to the making of complex university decisions about faculty tenure, selection, promotion, and intricate university policies having to do with financial development, plant expansion, selection of administrators, *et cetera.*

His preferred metaphor for the university is worth notice. He treats it repeatedly as a "public service institution, with workers and clients." For example:

> For the faculty, the university is a professional organization of which they are a part, an institution whose bureaucratic character has been steadily increasing with its spectacular expansion. For the students, the university is a public-service institution whose clients they are and from whom they are demanding a basic revision in the client-professional relationship. Thus the demands for faculty power and for student power, while different in some respects, emerge from common trends in modern society and are convergent, if not always congruent.

A program of internal democratization of the university, and a guiding idea of the university as "an institution in tension with its national society," sum up the loving educational counsel this author has to offer. He even justifies violence as endemic in society and therefore, presumably, licit for the "right or just" ends in university life. In fact, he does not hesitate to admit that violence can be effective in winning new "rights" on the campus and that extreme and arrogant demands, so long as they are effective in exposing injustices or gaining benefits for the "ethnic" or "ideological" left, should not be ruled out! He therefore serves notice on the university

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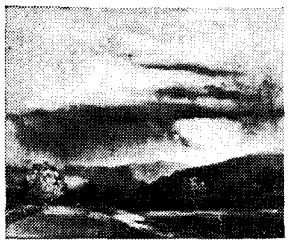

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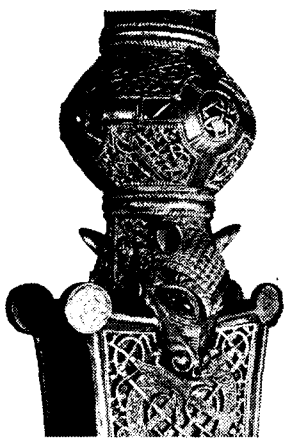

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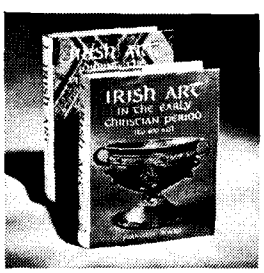

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community that reason and good sense are not always to be respected as the decisive methods of forging educational policy and practice.

It should be apparent that because of his hotly political interests, Wallerstein considers that "reform of curricula is not a primary issue." He finds that it will come about "almost automatically" as a consequence of revolutionary and progressive changes. He therefore rules it out of his tract on universities in turmoil. A note of prophetism closes this hard-cover penny tract: "The tension of the university and state is essential, for the life of the university, for the health of society. Those who seek intelligently to re-create this tension serve both university and state, and preserve hope." Thus, the political warfare seen on one level among the students (and detectable in the past among faculty feudists who no longer acted as "colleagues" when turmoil broke out on their home campus) may now be expected to divide permanently the faculty itself. At the very least, Wallerstein's views diminish the prospects for the restoration of productive peace and order on the campuses. If his arguments gain adherents, they are likely to function as a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Understandably, therefore, Professor Wallerstein, who is a sociologist and a student of the underdeveloped countries, particularly Africa, is primarily concerned with the political and social problems facing the colleges and universities in modern, highly industrialized countries. His tastes and sensitivities (if that is the right word) are attuned to social groups and modes and methods of attaining or dissipating power. But his political sociology is a morality play. "The government" and "the university" are both viewed as monolithic entities, with "society" composed of three conflicting La Bruyère characters—"the right," "the left" and "the center." His history of the West since World War I is on a par with this allegorical treatment of politics. The ideology that explains much of his systematic hostility to the humanistic ideals of education smacks of old Marxism, updated to meet the urgencies of present radical demands.

In another sense, it is revealing that Professor Wallerstein tends to date the era of student protest in America from 1967-68, the year of Columbia's bloody ordeal by student rebellion. Of the hundreds of significant cases of outbreak of student protest and violence on campuses in the decade of the 1960s, Columbia must be accorded a special role (which it would doubtless prefer to have missed) in the escalation of student-managed breakdown of academic order. It threw the spotlight on questions of the university's relationship to the surrounding (lower ethnic) community, and its overt and secret ties to government defense-inspired research and support.

In the Columbia crisis of 1968 Wallerstein was apparently a prominent and indefatigable faculty representative on the Ad Hoc Faculty Group, an activist (of the distinctly over-thirty-year-old variety) who for a few days at least imagined he could direct the course of the student revolution, and who acted as go-between for the black students who held Hamilton Hall and the administration, as well as his own Ad Hoc Faculty Group. The student editors of the Columbia *Spectator* who wrote *Up Against the Ivy Wall* in one context describe Wallerstein's role in the steering committee as that of "the evil genius" of the faculty group. From another source, *Columbia College Today* (Spring 1968), an issue that is entitled "Six Weeks That Shook Morningside," one gathers the interesting observation that the Ad Hoc Faculty Group in "being protective and conciliatory toward the protesting [student] groups" endowed the revolution with "a kind of quasi-legitimacy."

We can appraise the true significance of his ideological politics for university affairs by turning to the strongly worded opinion of his colleague Peter Gay, the Shepherd Professor of History at Columbia. He comments that the left-wing professors who constituted themselves the Ad Hoc Faculty Group set up an unreal situation, treating

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the student take-over as "a labor dispute between equals." In fact, he observed,

> the situation never even remotely resembled this. There were students illegally occupying buildings; it was understood that sooner or later they would have to get out. And on the other side there was the Administration which, however unjust or unpopular it might be, was nevertheless the legitimate power. Under these circumstances . . . for the faculty to put itself in the middle, as though the students and administration were two equals confronting one another, was really a tactical and in the long run a strategic mistake.

In final retrospect, these volumes provide real, if not comforting, rewards for all who are interested in the preservation and improvement of American colleges and universities. Wallerstein, in his cool acceptance of the desirability of revolutionary transformation, and in his political predictions of what the academic community *must* be ready to accept, provides a rationale that, once it is seen starkly, may hasten alternative policies to counterpose to his own. Schwab, in his perception that the failures of the college and university must share in the blame for student unhappiness and thus preparedness for protest and worse, opens up an enormously important subject for hard thinking, but on the whole does not provide the deep and clarifying critique that is needed. Meanwhile, as always, the more simple and radical view is capable of gaining immediate converts for its program than is the more liberal and complex interior analysis. Cheap coin drives out dear on any marketplace. The ultimate challenge, then, is to marshal intellectual forces to prevent this rubric from exercising sway over the long hard pull that confronts American higher education.

"Silent" students and "silent" faculty, powerless and vacillating administrators, will not help the cause of intelligent reform. If administrators, faculty members and students join in an honest search for less fraudulent educational experiences on the campus, they may in time devise the measures by which to protect the plural values and avenues to truth that should grace free universities.

Idealism Demonized

THE CONFLICT OF GENERATIONS: The Character and Significance of Student Movements. *By Lewis S. Feuer. Basic Books. $12.50.*

Reviewed by HENRY A. MURRAY

If you are a typical reader of the SCHOLAR, that is, a reader of everything else as well, no doubt by now you will have seen maybe five or six, maybe more, reviews of *The Conflict of Generations.* If so, you must have been accosted by at least one of the several reviewers that I met foaming with indignation at the author of this book, avowedly for his being a bad theorist but viscerally, between the lines, for his not idolizing kids. And the question is, has one or another of these infuriated critics succeeded in steadily deterring you from digging into this huge mound of essential knowledge for our times? If Yes, I feel obligated to report, right here and now—before you stop reading what I'm writing—that there is much valuable ore "in them thar hills." It all depends, of course, on how capable of extracting it you are, of separating the better from the worse, and leaving the slag behind, or, in some cases, of looking firmly at unflattering truths when your eyes are almost blinded with rage.

You could have predicted, of course, that a book on this topic, coming to polarized college campuses, in the midst of the swirl and heat of vocal violence and clenched antagonisms, would stand a poor chance of being evenhandedly appraised this year. But to have guessed the choleric intensity of the above mentioned critics you would have had to know something about Professor Feuer's changes of position vis-à-vis his ideological kith and kin, the currently contentious progeny of Marx; and you would also have had to know something about the light brigade of touchy juvenolaters who are set to charge at any moment in defense of their protégés, either to bail them out

✪ HENRY A. MURRAY is professor emeritus of clinical psychology at Harvard University.

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SHOOT-OUT IN CLEVELAND
Black Militants and the Police: July 23, 1968

By Louis Massoti and Jerome R. Corsi

On July 23, 1968 in Cleveland's Glenville section, urban violence in America took a new turn when a group of heavily armed black men engaged in a gun battle with police, resulting in the deaths of three white policemen and four black civilians. How Cleveland, one of the first cities to elect a black mayor, became the site of this bloody battle—and what seemed new in the history of black violence—is explained in this incisive report, prepared under the auspices of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. 32 pp. of photos.

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whenever they are brought in by the police, or to fire volleys of invectives at anybody who is a little less than complimentary, say, by insinuating that delusions of grandeur have their minds in tow. What is wrong about this book is not at all difficult to detect and therefore scarcely capable of seriously misleading you. What is plentifully right about it can be found between no other covers.

The mind-fortifying properties of this two-pound offering on the altar of a conceivable better world are principally derived from neither the evaluations given, nor the conclusions reached, nor the theory repeatedly affirmed, but rather, it seems to me, from the book's opulent stock of sufficiently complete and accurate, wholly engrossing and instructive chronicles of insurgent student movements—a century and a half of them in a dozen countries round the globe. The author's grand tour of space and time begins with the famous 1817 Wartburg Festival at which German students—exhilarated by waxing tides of blood-brotherly, generational solidarity—made "the first, overt, self-conscious assertion of the intellectual elite as a political force in modern history." Then, after a penetrating look at the student combustibles in Bosnia prior to World War I, our guide returns us to the nineteenth century for an extended and most revealing sojourn in Russia. Later—leaping back and forth in space and time in a pleasantly unsystematic manner—we are further educated by a miscellany of shorter visits to the Orient (Japan, China, India), Africa and Latin America. Ultimately, after a quick glance at the restive young men of Burma, Korea, Portugal and Spain, we arrive in California for the Berkeley Student Movement of 1964, in which the author himself—professor of philosophy at that time and place—was deeply involved. Naturally, this calls for a protracted period of observation and reflection. An all-too-brief, last-minute survey of the turmoil at Columbia University in 1968 concludes the tour.

At this date, so far as I know, there is nothing in any language with this coverage, nothing that will bear comparison with the scope and span of Professor Feuer's absorbing history, nothing with its prodigality of relevant, amply documented facts and figures. The bibliography runs to over fourteen hundred references, including what some perceptive novelists, Hugo and Turgenev, for example, have had to say about the psyches of young rebel leaders.

The following skeletal version of Feuer's formulation of a prototypical student insurrection (with its more important characteristics italicized) necessarily falls short of justice to the multiple meanings that are implied. There is a time in the life of a nation when the level of adolescent *idealism* is raised to an uncommon height by the existence of a shameful state of affairs or by a disgraceful occurrence, for which the older generation are accounted morally responsible, and hence culpable and unworthy of respect. With the higher-ups (parents, leaders, power elite) as a common target for the thrust of their miscellaneous resentments, the students attain enough unity, or *generational solidarity,* to accomplish the informal *de-authoritization* of the older generation. At this point it seems right that the higher-ups, having proved their incompetence or corruption, should relinquish a large measure of their power to the young *(juvenocracy)* who will broaden their base by joining forces with the lower classes or workers *(populism).* In brief, it is for students inspired by a vision of a better future for mankind to seize the offered opportunity and accept their appointed task, their mission *(intellectual elitism).* All this brings the eager, overconfident student group into conflict with the ruling forces, a conflict that eventually drives them to the execution of *destructive acts* that are likely to become increasingly irrational *(nihilism, terrorism),* insofar as they annul the possibility of attaining the originally stated aims or they drive some of the rebels to self-destruction *(suicidalism).*

This is the author's major conclusion, or message: all full-fledged student uprisings end disastrously with harmful immediate

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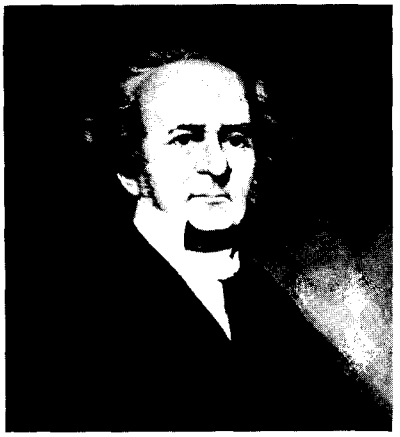

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or later consequences. The Feuer script is tragic. It starts on an airy level of youthful aspiration: "This is a book," he writes in his first sentence, "about the workings of the ethical, idealistic spirit in human history," about student movements that are usually "characterized by the highest degree of selflessness, generosity, compassion, and readiness for self-sacrifice." This portion of the drama, we may suppose, corresponds to the time, forty-two years ago, when Lewis Feuer, a fourteen-year-old freshman at the City College of New York, made his debut into a fervent company of student activists to figure shortly thereafter as a leader. But, as you have seen, the script does not keep to that high plane of innocence and light. "And this is also a book," the author informs us, "about how the idealistic spirit has done violence to itself and to others, and has been transmuted into a destructive force in human history." The transmuting agents, according to the author's theory, are demonic, parricidal drives (stemming in each case from an unresolved Oedipus complex) that become involved in the later stages of the generational conflict that is raging on the level of overt social interactions. It is with this in mind that I am proposing "Idealism Demonized" as a fitting title for the Feuer script.

The author tells us that his study of student rebellions has been pursued with the hope, not of suppressing them, nor of abolishing the need for them, but of transcending the recurrent demonic patterns—products of Oedipal hate and guilt—that have invariably led on to failure. It was with the purpose of restraining such extremist tactics at Berkeley in 1964, shortly after the students fired the raucous shout heard round the world, that Professor Feuer, acknowledged Marxist authority, wrote a series of widely circulated papers.

To explain why I cannot go along with Professor Feuer either in his theorizings or in his final conclusions would take more space than is suitably permitted me for this review. The Oedipal source of all irrationalities associated with malevolent social acts is no doubt a confirmable hot truth in a number of individual cases, but it is useless as a general theory in the absence of dependable means of estimating the potency of parricidal drives, say, among rebels and nonrebels during a period when the older generation is de-authoritized.

This brings me around again to the anecdotal riches of this book, especially to the astonishing similarities amid numberless superficial differences between student rebellions at widely distant times and places. Yes, one thinks, history really *does* repeat itself—in some respects at least, in occurrences of this nature anyhow. In short, here we have hold of some historical data that are usable rather than dangerously misleading. For example, it looks to me as if the possession of this knowledge early last winter would have enabled a person to predict with but few errors the course of the student disruptions that occurred—especially those at Harvard. Not often is it possible to say this much with confidence.

Conceivably, the assimilation of *The Conflict of Generations* by enough thinking reeds involved in the governance of universities could make an appreciable difference in the procession of events to come. At the least, it could rescue dozens of key figures in decision-making processes from the perilous morass of ignorance in which they have recently been floundering, ignorance in regard to what contagious thoughts and feelings are making headway in the susceptible psyches of young people, and what can be expected of these forces. For one thing, knowledge about such matters might well result in a decrease in the currently high retirement rate of WASP presidents of universities.

Having already suffered a number of short, regressive falls from grace, the universities of North America may be closer than they imagine to the verge of a giant plunge into the educational abyss of another Dark Age, dark because, for a century or more, no enlightenment would come from it, nothing would be done that was worth recording or commemorating. In view of this horrendous possibility and of our shared opposition to it, I am ready to believe that a merciful Providence arranged for the immediate delivery by Lewis

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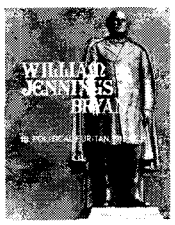

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Feuer of these cullings from his four decades of experience and research. "Hurry," the angel might have whispered. "There's no time for further reflection, self-criticism, tightening up your logic, eliminating repetitions. No time at all for anything of that sort. Hurry!"

Common Denominator Fiction

TWO, THREE, MANY MORE. *By Nicholas von Hoffman. Quadrangle. $5.95.*

Reviewed by J. ANTHONY LUKAS

Last spring, as students rose up across the land, National Educational Television presented what it called "an experimental drama based on the current student movement." Its press release said *Confrontation* depicted events at a fictitious university, but was based on "real-life events" and used "real-life students" as actors. True to its promise, the program dramatized many events out of the Berkeley and Columbia crises, but what emerged was a pale pastiche. With all the real-life confrontations out there, one wondered why N.E.T. bothered to concoct one.

Now, in this novel, Nicholas von Hoffman has attempted something similar. He, too, has set his conflict on the campus of a fictitious university identified only as "one of the ten great institutions of higher learning in the Western world." And he, too, has drawn his material from the many actual confrontations of the past few years.

The major difference between the two efforts is that, unlike the people in Pittsburgh who produced *Confrontation,* Mr. von Hoffman is one of the country's most experienced and perceptive observers of student rebellion. For ten years he worked for Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation, among the first groups with a truly radical perspective on modern America. For the past five years, he has been a reporter and columnist for the Washington *Post,* concentrating on youthful and social unrest. His book—*We Are the People Our Parents Warned Us Against*—is probably the best yet written on the hippies. He was at the March on the Pentagon; at Columbia the following spring; in Chicago's Grant Park that summer. He is a hard-working reporter who drives to the nub of his story. Much of that knowledge is reflected in this book.

His portraits of the students are acute and may serve as a corrective to editorial writers who condemn student radicals as one vast, bearded, pot-smoking, Maoist rabble. Von Hoffman knows there are many varieties of disaffected students expressing many varieties of discontent, and he gives us several of them: Ray Shapiro, the Cerebral Radical, who quotes Kierkegaard while devising reasoned analyses of the University's complicity with imperialism; Roger Elias, the Apocalytic Radical, yearning for the heroic, often seeming "to strip himself of skin so that he looked like one of those plastic anatomy models, a creature of white wire nerves, striped muscles and red and blue veins"; Sil, the Cultural Radical, who put on a "running theatrical critique" of American society with elaborate mechanisms like the "E. J. Cornford Perpetual Expiatory Capability Contraption and Death Machine"; Morton Cream, alias "The Supreme Cream," the Beach Boy Radical, son of a New York stockbroker, Princeton dropout, varsity gymnast; Ellie Rector, the Girl-Next-Door Radical, who "lived in misty pastels" and "rolled on her deodorant, powdered herself, slipped on silk and lace, sat down in front of a mirror and gave 20 minutes to making up her eyes and face" before going out to demonstrate.

There are other deft portraits in the book: Myron Mirsky, the liberal social scientist with a Talmudic gallows humor but

✪ J. ANTHONY LUKAS is the Roving National Correspondent of the New York *Times.* A foreign correspondent for five years in Asia and Africa, he returned to this country in 1967 and since then has concentrated on reporting domestic social unrest. Mr. Lukas won a Pulitzer Prize in 1968 for a story exploring the background of a young girl from Greenwich, Connecticut, who was killed in Greenwich Village. Last year he was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard, where he studied the history of American radicalism and worked on a book about disaffected young Americans.

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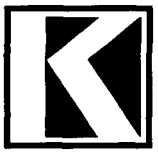

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ultimately an almost Calvinist duty to the University; and Roysterman, the Protestant chaplain, who "sought out confrontational upheaval the way bankrupts once conspired to bring off the revolution which would abolish their debts."

As you see, von Hoffman can write. He also has a nice sense of the ridiculous and often finds it difficult to take his own characters seriously. I particularly liked his reminder that "half the population is under twenty-five, but half of them are under twelve."

His ironic detachment derives largely from his recognition that most campus confrontations follow an all-too-predictable pattern: radical challenge; administrative rigidity; sit-in; police bust; radicalization of the uncommitted majority, *et cetera.* As one dean in the book says: "Nothing happened here that didn't anywhere else, and still it happened. Like Columbia, like Berkeley, like San Francisco State, and the scenario was the same here . . . We played it out like the Easter Story. There was not one moment of real suspense."

But that may also be the book's major weakness. For while there are strong parallels between all student uprisings, what is most interesting in each case is not these similarities but the idiosyncrasies: the aristocratic hauteur of Harvard's Corporation; the spontaneous combustion of Berkeley's street people; the stubborn factionalism of Columbia's liberal faculty. And these are precisely the elements that get ironed out in this kind of common denominator, documentary fiction. Skillfully drawn as his portraits are, they are still types that never grow into full-blown characters.

Ultimately, von Hoffman's expertise seems squandered in this book. Had he written a true novel of character that probed the subtleties of human motivation, or had he turned his trained reporter's eye on a single case and given us all its meaty substance, he might have contributed something of real importance.

As it is, he has given us a witty, readable, often perceptive drama, but finally—like the N.E.T. version—without the breath of real-life confrontation.

So It Goes

SLAUGHTERHOUSE-FIVE. *By Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. Delacorte. $5.95.*

Reviewed by SHAUN O'CONNELL

> *"It's a thankless job telling people it's a hard, hard Universe they're in."*
> —Winston Niles Rumfoord in Kurt Vonnegut's *The Sirens of Titan*

The two most interesting literary-political books published last spring—Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.'s *Slaughterhouse-Five* and James Simon Kunen's *The Strawberry Statement*—were attempts to do for our time what George Orwell, in essays and fiction, did for his. The political views of each author match: both put down Vietnam and violence of all kinds; both value compassion and peace. But good politics do not necessarily insure good art. Kunen describes the Columbia Crisis in the clever, offhanded, backhanded voice of Holden Caulfield. "You will notice that a great deal of this book simply relates little things I've done and thought. It may seem completely irrelevant to Columbia. That's the way it goes." But, unlike *The Catcher in the Rye,* Kunen's book is derivative and disorganized. Vonnegut, however, revisits another modern horror show, the firebombing of Dresden, reconceives it in temporal and spatial terms, reassesses its importance in comic and cosmic terms, *reinvents* it in art. Vonnegut's novel is closer to *The Catcher in the Rye* (and any other achieved work of art) by being utterly different from it, that is, in doing what a work of art does, erecting a personal vision. In the art of fiction, as Henry James said, "questions of art are questions (in the widest sense) of execution; questions of morality are quite another affair." Although they may agree politically, Kunen is a witty journalist and Vonnegut is an artist.

Still, one probably should not so sharply separate method from matter, as does

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James, to illustrate the importance of artful execution. For Vonnegut's great achievement in his latest novel is the perfect melding of purpose and presentation. For example, his novel's hero, Billy Pilgrim—comic innocent, prisoner (like Vonnegut) during the Dresden bombing; optometrist in Ilium, New York; space traveler to Tralfamadore; finally, a fanatic who wants to tell everyone about the true nature of time and space, to prescribe "corrective lenses for Earthling souls"—"is spastic in time, has no control over where he is going next, and the trips aren't necessarily fun." He moves into the past, driven by the stunning insight that what is, was and what was, will be, world with end in sight. On his way to a Lions Club luncheon in 1968—where a Marine major would say we should bomb North Vietnam back into the Stone Age—Billy sees that Ilium, burned by blacks and razed by urban renewal, looked both like Dresden after the fire-bombing (the way things were) and like the surface of the moon (the way things will be). Thus Billy's movements in space and time are Vonnegut's ways of embodying a vision of destruction unmatched by any novel since *The Day of the Locust.* Method matches manner. Spatial and temporal motion are means toward revelations. As they say on Tralfamadore, "What we love in our books are the depths of many marvelous moments seen all at once."

Vonnegut's art forces us to reimagine horror, a neat trick. Lazzaro, another prisoner of the Germans, tells Billy a horrifying story about the way he once took revenge on a dog by hiding pieces of sharpened wire inside a steak, feeding the dog and watching him writhe to death. Billy is, of course, repelled by this act of sadism, in fact—the true horror—even more repelled by it than by the fire-bombing of Dresden! Vonnegut follows the dog-killing story with a wry notation that Lazzaro did not exult when Dresden was bombed. Lazzaro might be a murderer, but, unlike bomber pilots, he liked to take his enemies one at a time and not hurt innocent bystanders. One man's sadism is another man's honor. Vonnegut's art pins our moral ambivalence.

For all of this, *Slaughterhouse-Five* is a very funny novel, as funny as *The Day of the Locust,* which uses humor as still another means of enlightenment. The possibilities of humor come from Vonnegut's double attitude: horror at the way things happen and acceptance that we can do little to change the way things happen. Billy learns from the Tralfamadorians, who can see all time, that living creatures are like bugs caught in amber, trapped. He learns to handle horror with a verbal shrug, "so it goes," to take things as they come and marvel at the zaniness in the ways things turn out. For example, after Billy's plane crashed in Vermont, his fat wife, Valencia, rushed to his side. On the way, her Cadillac was slammed in the rear by a Mercedes. Nobody hurt. "But the rear end of the Cadillac was a body-and-fender man's wet dream." Light opera. When Valencia pulled up before Billy's hospital, everyone rushed to the windows because "the Cadillac, with both mufflers gone, sounded like a heavy bomber coming in on a wing and a prayer." But the comic opera

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ends grizzly. "Poor Valencia was unconscious, overcome by carbon monoxide. She was a heavenly azure." So it goes. Funny the way things work out, isn't it?

Vonnegut takes other liberties with plausibility to show us his truth. He is a character in his own novel—"I'm an old fart with his memories and his Pall Malls"—who explains the difficulties in reinventing his Dresden past and enters the narrative from time to time as a chorus. When they arrived in beautiful, unbombed Dresden, the boxcar opened and Vonnegut said, " 'Oz.' That was I. That was me. The only other city I'd ever seen was Indianapolis, Indiana." Vonnegut had traveled a good way from Indianapolis to Dresden and Dresden would become something far different from Oz, more like the face of the moon, but his art makes a pattern of it all, follows the journey of his imagination in space and time.

Because his art does much that others' have been unable to do, it sometimes does less. Characterizations are reduced in complexity, caught in Vonnegut's design, like bugs in amber. Similarly, climaxes are distributed throughout the novel, not set strategically for a final culmination of thematic currents. But these are far from faults, merely other ways to make his points: that all times converge in each climactic moment and each character is lost in cosmic space. "There are almost no characters in this story, and almost no dramatic confrontations, because most of the people in it are so sick and so much the listless playthings of enormous forces."

Vonnegut's novel art has been recently recognized, although *The Strawberry Statement* got more attention. So it goes. There may still be hope, however. The *Times* recently reported, in a depressing article entitled "Young Writers Say They Don't Read," that Kunen is both concerned by the artlessness in the hasty works of his generation rushing into print—those who feel "a license not to organize, not to work out a strict coherency, to splatter [themselves] across the paper"—and appreciative of Vonnegut. Kunen sees in Vonnegut's work "the blurriness of good and evil and

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the gratuitousness of how things come about." Well put. But he, like all of us, should see that there is no gratuitousness in the way in which Vonnegut puts his work together, his art of fiction. When asked recently what he would most like to be known as, Vonnegut replied, "George Orwell." Vonnegut has not only followed Orwell's political radicalism, he has realized, in *Slaughterhouse-Five,* an ideal best put by Orwell, "to make political writing into an art."

A New Kind of Ennui

TIKE AND FIVE STORIES. *By Jonathan Strong. Atlantic-Little, Brown. $5.75.*

Reviewed by MARK DEVOTO

This book is a good example of how different today's college writers are from those in my day. I was Harvard '61, eons ago, when fiction was the sole privilege of the *Advocate* autocracy and its cult of continental snobbery, jaded yesteryears, and a seemingly inextinguishable series of Proustian ennuis. Jonathan Strong is Harvard '69: his milieu is quite different, and characteristic of the new writers' concerns. Particularly in *Tike,* whose protagonist is a twenty-one-year-old dropout, the degree of awareness of self, the concern with evaluating the present, and the antinostalgic viewpoint show strikingly how attitudes have changed among college-trained young writers.

Tike lives alone with his dog in an apartment, shelves books in the university library, listens to Wagner and Strauss at full volume, and goes for long walks by the lake. He tells his story in ultra-short present-tense sentences, not for the sake of terseness but to give the impression of the pace and exactitude of actual thought. Thus placed effectively in Tike's mind, we observe his feelings, observations and instant reactions to his casual attempts to

✪ MARK DEVOTO, composer and writer, teaches music at the University of New Hampshire.

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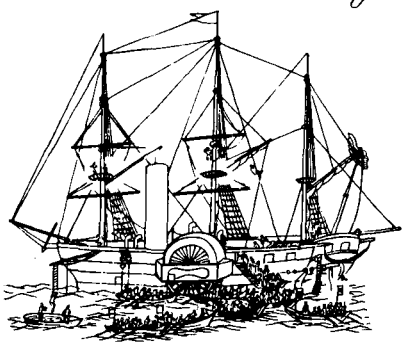

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break out of his own loneliness, to the rise and fall of his love affair with a girl next door, and to wholly unrelated things as well. The author's method is a valid one, but it succeeds only insofar as Tike's insights are meaningful and visible, and unfortunately what comes across of Tike is a rather pathetic degree of noninvolvement. Tike knows that he is awkward and gauche in his relations with others—not without a certain charm, but awkward nonetheless—but the way he tells it, it seems that he doesn't care very much, or feels that it is futile to try to improve himself. He expresses himself minimally, in his words and in his actions, without passion or even frustration. He rises to no occasion; he appears to be a detached observer even in the situations where he is central. This is a new kind of ennui in college writing.

Moreover, the musico-literary patter and name-dropping that run through the story (Hugo Wolf-Goethe, Strauss-Hofmannsthal, Mahler, E. M. Forster, *et cetera*) seem of no more importance than as a kind of smokescreen; in all the history of literature, has it ever made a particle of difference what music such and such a character liked, or (at least until Nabokov) what authors a character admired? "However lonely you are, you will never be bored," Tike's mother writes him in a letter. "All of music and literature is there for you, and you are fascinated by it." Even so, Tike's expressed preferences lack conviction, and that seems to be the story of his existence anyway. Not until the last page does Tike spur himself to action by hurling a rock through his would-be beloved's bedroom window, and this act is more like a shrug than a challenge.

The disaffection of youth as personified by Tike is not, to my doubtless Squaresville mind, representative of much more than a very small minority today. It is easy enough, perhaps, to write about a kid whose password is "nothing," but the "nothing" generation, if it ever existed, is out of date. Today's dropouts are not like Tike. It will take a more massive literary effort to capture the terrifying resentments

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and frustrations and passionate rages, not to mention suicidal depressions, of the young men and women who have grown up in the shadows of hydrogen bombs, assassinations, total militarism, civil repression, and Vietnam.

"Supperburger," Strong's prizewinning short story, which appears in this volume, is about a composer of that name, and how he appears to the young narrator. As a composer, I myself find it frankly incredible that a self-confessed phony could nonetheless complete his Ninth Symphony (the traditional death-number, after Beethoven, Bruckner and Mahler). The narrator manages to puzzle the reader by not being always sure about what is going on; the story has psycho-sociological and artistic-homosexual overtones that I can't quite comprehend, but I am willing to ascribe my lack of comprehension to my own musical prejudices about this strange and sometimes tantalizing story.

"Suburban Life" is a delightful, lyrical and witty sketch of two shacked-up kids. The girl's leg is immobilized in a cast, if you can imagine the situation. This is the only third-person story in the book, so the persistent present tense is puzzling, except that the story's method derives from that of Robbe-Grillet's *Jealousy*. Likewise, the next story, "Sayin Good-bye to Tom," has a French model, Queneau's *Exercices de style*. Mick and Tom exchange the same farewells at the bus station; Mick tells it seven times and Tom once, eight different ways in all. Different, that is, as far as the words go; the viewpoints and revelations are virtually the same, and not very interesting.

"Quilty," about a family reunion on the Fourth of July, captures all at once the vitality of being young and of what it is to start growing up, set against a backdrop of a summer night in the country. There is a fresh quality in this "loss-of-innocence" story that is lacking in the others. The last story, "Patients," the only past-tense story in the book, deals with the opposite sort of revelation. Jamie, a twenty-year-old who has climbed off the drug route, makes friends with a thirteen-year-old psychotic.

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Jamie's affection for a much younger kid who is much worse off than himself is an attempt to recover his own innocence, as much of it as he needs to assure himself of a valid place in the world. This story is slight, although skillfully written; it seems as though it should be part of a longer work.

A Warning for Next Thursday

THE YEAR OF THE YOUNG REBELS. *By Stephen Spender. Random House. $4.95.*

Reviewed by HENRY D. RECK

Asking the question "What do the students want?" Stephen Spender finds many answers. At Columbia and the Sorbonne, in Prague and West Germany. Countless interviews and perspicacious observations constitute this excellent book about the Young Rebels. If students say that the older generation does not understand them, one might ask, "How well do you understand yourselves?" Mr. Spender resolves the query, "Nothing is clearer to a later generation than the naivety of an earlier one, just as nothing is clearer to the earlier one than the naivety of the later."

Those students err who seek to bring political or social significance to the teaching of language and the natural sciences. Psychology is in an ambivalent position, being useful both to the understanding of individual conduct and to an understanding of the environmental society. A special target for the rebel student's overhaul is the literature course. (What *is* the message of Sartre, Turgenev, Galsworthy, Hemingway, Kafka?) There is always endless argument about the point of view taken by lecturers in history, economics, political science and, above all, sociology. German students interviewed by Mr. Spender "wanted to learn political science as experience of the society in which they lived, and having done so, to use this knowledge to change the society." Mr. Spender comments, "Ideally, the

✪ HENRY D. RECK teaches American history at the City College of the City University of New York.

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idea of a university in which there is a heightened state of awareness on the part of faculty and students as to the significance of what is being carried on seems good. In practice, there is danger that participation will result in encouraging a busy-body type of student . . . who will make a career of sitting on committees and bossing other people. . . . One of the paradoxes about the present generation of students who rebel against bureaucracy is that they themselves so often appear to be frustrated bureaucrats. The first thing they set up is a committee; the next, an office with telephones, typewriters, etc." A German student states, "We want no decisions to be taken either against the wishes of the students or against those of the professors. We want participation, not dictatorship, in deciding on lectures, seminars and research projects."

We who teach feel the relentless pressure for time to get on with the chores of pedagogy. The same pressure afflicts the student, assuming he is a serious person. Four academic years compass his college residence. It is absurd, asserts Mr. Spender, that the transient student should demand a voice in hiring or firing professors.

A great cause of current campus ructions is the languid or nonexistent rapport between faculty and student. In years past, such separation was acceptable, because it comported with the highly structured society of that day. But times have changed. Mr. Spender notes that many college students come "from homes which are not of the university tradition," and so have no special awe for the gown. "Another thing that makes the young today less impressionable is that they are *older* than their parents were at a corresponding age. It is generally accepted that a young person of eighteen today corresponds to one of twenty-one in 1939. Thus the university today, instead of overawing the students, tends to become the background of their 'scene.' "

Far too many teachers think that students have nothing of value to say about college administration, course offerings, or relation to faculty. Perhaps too many of the faculty (teachers as well as administrators) carried pre-World War II concepts of campus or-

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ganization over into the period after 1945. It appears to have been quite lost to them that the generation of returned veterans (more or less accepting traditional campus relations) was gradually being replaced by a truly postwar generation that had roots in a different soil. One may find something of a parallel between those postwar people and their counterparts in the 1920s and 1930s. "Stop the War in Vietnam!" equates "Get the Marines Out of Nicaragua!" Does not the present protest against napalm and military recruitment on campus remind one of the cynicism and organized pacifism against the military of those other days? Both college generations scandalized the Fuzz.

The rather short-lived French student rebellion of 1968 was less against college regulations and practices than a broad protest against society itself. Students railed against Gaullist control of mass media, notably television. But Paris in the spring is Lotus Land; its people paid little heed to the students. "Walk a few hundred yards away from one area of the Quartier Latin and despite the strikes and the students there was a remarkably normal atmosphere."

In Prague, Mr. Spender found the Czech student rebels striving, unsuccessfully, for basic freedoms simply taken for granted by students in the West—freedom of speech, press, assembly and association. "If one were asked to sum up in a word the expression on the faces of the students in different countries, one would say of the Americans 'hysterical' (driven to it), of the French 'romantic,' of the West Germans 'theoretic,'—but of the Czechs one would say 'modest.' They had at once the modesty and determination of their clear and limited aims."

From the spring of 1968 through the spring of 1969, the multiple student rebellions on American campuses shook the country profoundly. Unlike Europe, accustomed for centuries to collegiate discontents, the United States had no history of such wide-flung, vehement uprisings and disorders. The ominous black student confrontation of the Columbia University authorities is well covered by Mr. Spender. One sees that racial desegregation was not the aim of the blacks. Indeed, quite the

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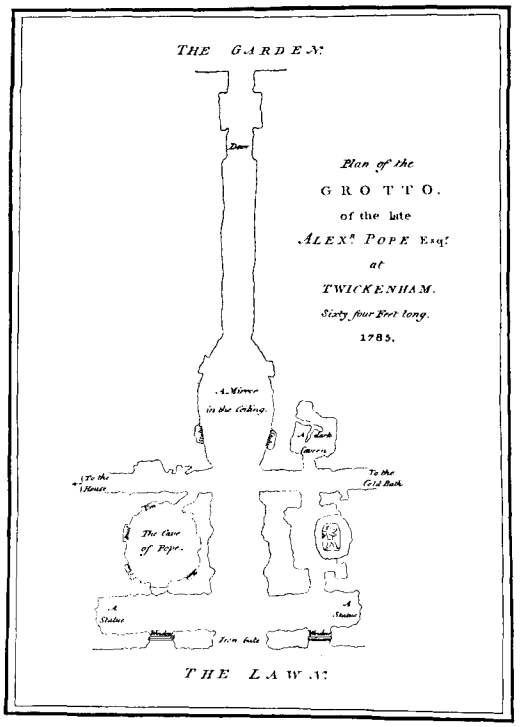
IN THE LATER POETRY OF POPE
1731–1743

Maynard Mack



The author writes, "If I am right about the profoundly political orientation of most of Pope's poems of the [17]30s and about there being a certain emblematic quality in his way of life at Twickenham whose shaping influence is felt inside the poems, here may be an additional complexity of texture which criticism will wish to take into account."

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opposite. By making common cause with the white rebels, the black students feared they would lose their own racial identification, an image and status they prized above all else. Negro rebel students at Columbia posed the possibility of a race riot, according to Mr. Spender. Their ranks were increased "by a considerable number of blacks from other colleges, and from the Harlem community, and they were advised by black power leaders." The black rebels' scornful decision not to join with white student rebels may well point up, on a national basis, the hostility and mistrust that the American Negro feels for any citizen who is not black. This distressing, self-imposed schism was observed on innumerable campuses, beginning in the spring of 1968.

Commendations to Stephen Spender for his courageous explorations in Darkest Academia. From *aux barricades;* Cloud-Cuckoo-Land; and the ideological fogs of eastern Europe; then back to God-Bless-America and its campuses hopping with anarchy, arson, vandalism; clenched fists upraised; shouted obscenities; graffiti not seen since the sack of Rome; racial free-for-alls in the Social Sciences Building; assault and battery; bullhorns; cannon crackers; freedom of speech for hecklers only; freedom of assembly for rioters only. Goodbye to John Dewey and *Gaudeamus Igitur.*

What is to be done? Rather, what *can* be done? It is so much easier to destroy than to construct. "Students who attempt to revolutionise society by first destroying the university are like an army which begins a war by wrecking its own base," says Mr. Spender. And he warns his Young Rebels in the brilliant last chapter, "The University as Agora," that they will have to live in the fantastically crowded world of next Thursday, with their children, and the neighbors and *their* children.

Prepare for this now? Plan? Yes. The Young Rebels are the very ones to use their universities as bases from which to "attack problems of war and armaments, of racial inequality, of the deterioration of cities, of the pollution of the atmosphere, and of the destruction of the countryside." Externalize yourselves, Messrs. Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Mark Rudd!

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The Reader Replies

THE READER REPLIES *carries miscellaneous comments by readers and authors on various articles that have appeared in the magazine. All communications should be addressed to: Editor,* THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, *1811 Q Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20009. Because of space limitations we cannot guarantee to print all letters received.*
—EDITOR

Mortimer Smith's "The Reading Problem" (AS: Summer, 1969) is interesting and has some useful ideas, but much of what he says lacks credibility. As a teacher, I too have thought that the inability of many students to write and to discuss ideas is traceable to their inability to read or their lack of reading experience. And perhaps this can be traced to their inability to speak the language—which makes a point for phonics teaching.

But Smith's essay is more appropriate to a popular audience than to a scholarly one. Much of it is bombast. And much of what he says lacks sufficient indication of the evidence on which his ideas are based. If phonics teaching has been shown so clearly to be superior, why are other methods used? Smith does not deal with this, except to conjure the image of a conspiracy by schools of education, the International Reading Association, and textbook publishers.

Why textbook publishers? Do they sell more readers now than they would if phonics teaching were used more widely? What part in the conspiracy do schools of education play? For too long they have been convenient scapegoats for all sorts of educational ills, and Smith has no better evidence against them. Also, it is a contradiction (as I see it; he calls it "ironic"!) for him to condemn "the educational establishment" and then to point out that "the most dramatic boost for the phonics advocates has come from the researches of Jeanne Chall of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, a member of the reading establishment in good standing."

Conspiracy theories are an insult to the audience of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. I wish Smith would search for more basic reasons. This is not too much to ask from the executive director of the Council for Basic Education. My objection to the Council in the past has been to its shortsighted conspiratorial bias, especially against "educationists." It is depressing to see that such a thing still goes on.

ROBERT R. SHERMAN
The University of Florida

Mortimer Smith's article is excellent. Mr. Smith's defense of the place of reading in the school curriculum deserves to be heeded. If ever there was a *sine qua non,* reading is it. Administrators, officials, educators and experts who deny this are fostering a pernicious doctrine, as harmful as the prevalence of faulty methods of teaching reading, which Mr. Smith has set forth so thoroughly.

I was surprised, however, to see Mr. Smith make no mention of Charles Child Walcutt. Although a professor of English, Dr. Walcutt is undoubtedly the most qualified individual in the United States on the subject of reading. And he has for years sided with the position that Mr. Smith takes in his article; unlike Dr. Flesch, Dr. Walcutt has refused to go into hiding and has repeatedly answered his attackers, in book after sound book. It is good to see a writer like Mr. Smith enrolled in the lists of sanity, though. It is high time that such people were listened to, not merely in our more progressive states, but universally.

DENNIS A. ROHATYN
City University of New York

MR. SMITH replies: "Conspiracy" is Mr. Sherman's term, not mine. I simply reported what is a historical fact: the great majority of reading specialists in the schools of education have for a long time been in favor of the whole-word, look-and-say method of reading instruction and opposed to organized phonics instruction. It is these specialists who write the basal readers—if Dick and Jane can be called writing—and who edit the publications of the International Reading Association; and it is the graduates of their courses who become the reading supervisors in the schools. The result is a reading "establishment" that has long been noted for its remarkable degree of doctrinal unanimity and its intolerance of dissenting views. What is involved here is not conspiracy but the notorious unwillingness of educationists to abandon or modify theoretical positions once they are adopted. (This is often true of academics, too.)

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As for publishers, they long ago began to produce readers based on the prevailing theories of reading instruction and cannot now change over without enormous cost. Our hope for change rests with publishers who are entering the field of reading instruction for the first time and can produce entirely new phonics-based readers that do not have to depend on the limited vocabularies of the conventional readers. A number of publishers are producing such readers, betting that public dissatisfaction with reading instruction will eventually force the reading specialists to accept change.

There is no inconsistency in condemning the establishment and then pointing out that one of the most effective arguments against establishment theories comes from within the gates. Hasn't Mr. Sherman ever heard that there are mavericks? Jeanne Chall is such a maverick, albeit (I understand) a rather reluctant one. The cold reception of Mrs. Chall's research by *The Reading Teacher*, official organ of the International Reading Association (see issue of March, 1968, pages 575-577), is typical, in my judgment, of how the leaders of the establishment treat those who question the conventional theories.

I agree wholeheartedly with Mr. Rohatyn that Charles Child Walcutt has played a very important role in the attempt to reform reading instruction. Had I been making a list of the small band of effective reformers in this field his name would have appeared very high on it.

* * *

I read with great interest Joseph Whitehill's article, "The Convict and the Burgher," which appeared in your Summer issue. This is the kind of personal interest that we who are employed in the Corrections Services feel is essential if we are ever going to stem the tide of crime repeaters.

Although I would take exception with one of his statements, "We know that recidivism now stands at sixty to seventy-five percent," I feel that his experiences are so typical of the response that an interested person would find, that others may be encouraged to volunteer their personal time and concern in a similar manner.

I am afraid Mr. Whitehill has fallen into the rather sterile reasoning that measures recidivism by the number of offenders currently in prison who have been there before. It is true that prisons are full of criminals, many of whom have long careers of crime and prison terms. As a Federal Probation-Parole Officer who has served for over thirty-two years, however, it has been my experience that only between fifteen and twenty percent of the individuals who have served either prison or probation terms have actually again come to the attention of the law enforcement authorities.

The fingerprint system is such that when an offender is arrested on a new charge, an agency or court that has known him before is almost always notified. There are literally thousands of people who have completed their prison terms, or their probation or parole supervision terms, who have never been heard from again as far as new arrests are concerned. This "success rate" is rarely publicized, possibly because law-abiding citizens do not make "news."

ARCH E. SAYLER
Chief U.S. Probation Officer
Southern District of New York

MR. WHITEHILL replies: Recidivism means, as I understand it, chronic or habitual lapsing into crime. A convenient measure of it is the number of times the guy lands back in the joint. I marvel at the ingenious arithmetic corrections people use to lower recidivism rates for their own departments: "Number of persons rearrested in our state—" (meaning, we scared them out); "Number of persons passing again through Criminal Court of Baltimore City—" (meaning, never mind the times they passed through Juvenile Court, Probation and Parole, or were awarded reserved sentencing); "Number of persons recommitted to Patuxent Institution—" (meaning, never mind the number of times we have yanked him back in off parole, we didn't have to recommit him because he was never *un*committed). Isn't it all rather silly?

If Mr. Sayler is a Federal Probation-Parole Officer, and says his recidivism rate is under twenty percent, then he gives strong support to the continuing rumors that (a) Federal joints get a better class of patrons than do the states, and (b) Federal prisons are vastly better in their work than are state prisons. The second is surely true, and the first will never be agreed on.

* * *

In these vexed times (and at my age) I find increasingly that of all emotions and responses, the keenest and most pleasurable to satisfy is nostalgia. I should like to thank Michael Halberstam for giving mine so fine a run in his lookback at *Stover at Yale* ["Stover at the Barricades," AS: Summer, 1969].

I don't suppose anyone who has read both Kipling's Stalky stories and Owen Johnson's

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Lawrenceville stories ever thinks of one without thinking of the other, and yet I have never seen them considered together. It would be worth doing, if only to bring out a point about class consciousness.

Louis Auchincloss, in *The Rector of Justin,* says that snobbery in England is healthier than snobbery in America, because British snobbery is overt and thus attackable while American snobbery is covert and hard to get at. The two kinds of snobbishness infuse the Stalky and the Lawrenceville stories, very much in accord with Auchincloss' description.

But Stalky and his companions are snobs to the last. They appear in several later stories as grown-ups, but only in years; they are Old Boys rather than men. In sharp contrast, the unconscious and taken-for-granted snobbishness Dr. Halberstam discerningly refers to at Lawrenceville does *not* persist, at least in that phase. It is either recognized and discarded (as by Stover) or it becomes conscious and proclaimed (as by Le Baron). This division, the requirement to make this choice, is what *Stover at Yale* is about.

When I first read *Stover at Yale* as a boy, this came as a great disappointment to me. A snob myself, I wasn't ready to make the choice. I expected and desired more high jinks with the Tennessee Shad and the Triumphant Egghead and the White Mountain Canary and the rest of the Lawrenceville stalwarts. I wanted, in a word, exactly the kind of book Dr. Halberstam warns us that *Stover at Yale* isn't. It was twenty years before I learned to be glad it's the kind of book it is.

DIGBY WHITMAN
Wausau, Wisconsin

* * *

John S. Rosenberg's stimulating article, "Toward a New Civil War Revisionism" in the Spring SCHOLAR will surely evoke much comment. I shall try to make my own comments brief.

Mr. Rosenberg says black militants argue "quite effectively that it would have been much better for all concerned if the slaves had seized their freedom rather than received it in bits and pieces . . ." *Much* better? For *all* concerned? The same Mr. Rosenberg who deplores the 600,000 Civil War dead must know that the seizure would have been accompanied by blood baths. Nat Turner's rebellion and recent events throughout the globe give some indication that many innocents would have been slaughtered as well as guilty slave owners.

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Mr. Rosenberg writes about Haiti. Was there not much innocent blood shed there? And methinks he has hurt his argument. Are the blacks there happier than those in the U.S.A.? Are they not rather among the unhappiest people on earth? (Some of Haiti's difficulties may well be due to our Caribbean imperialism, but that is not the full story.)

Mr. Rosenberg refers to a "revealing parallel between the Northern position in the Civil War and recent American interventions in other civil wars." Is Lincoln to be equated with Diem? Lincoln won a free election whereupon Southern states seceded illegally. Diem refused to discuss procedures for the Vietnamese elections promised at Geneva in 1954. One can be opposed to our past policy in Vietnam without accepting Mr. Rosenberg's "parallel."

Mr. Rosenberg ends by quoting Lincoln at Gettysburg with his reference to freedom not perishing "from the earth." Nevertheless, he does not consider the international aspects of the war. It is generally felt that the British reform bill of 1867 and in fact the whole progress of democracy in the Western world are due in part to the victory of the North in the Civil War. Mr. Rosenberg is certainly right that the North was not as liberal or progressive or idealistic as was once thought, but often what people believe to be true is as important as the actual fact. Democracy and representative government were given an impetus throughout the world by the victory of Lincoln's government. It might be added that but for John Wilkes Booth, Reconstruction might have brought greater improvements to American Negroes. That can never be proved, but remains a possibility.

BERNARD SINSHEIMER
History Department
University of Maryland Overseas
Boulogne, France

MR. ROSENBERG replies: Mr. Sinsheimer doubts that the slaves liberating themselves would have been better than their receiving what freedom they were granted through a quarrel among their oppressors, as happened, and he points to unhappiness in Haiti to support his skepticism. It is true that an insurrection would have taken many lives and hence have been regrettable, but has he temporarily forgotten that the Civil War, which he justifies, was the greatest "blood bath" in our history? All violence is abhorrent, but there is nothing worse in blacks killing whites to attain their freedom than in whites killing whites for reasons only distantly related to the welfare of the blacks. A stronger argument against my discussion of a slave insurrection is that one probably would not have occurred here, but in his search for a contradiction Mr. Sinsheimer missed this opportunity and in fact completely lost sight of my point. My point was not so much that an insurrection would have been desirable as that one was possible, and hence that black militants should not be too eager to justify the war.

The difficulty of assessing the domestic consequences of the war, however, is as nothing compared with evaluating its international impact. Mr. Sinsheimer thinks it responsible "in part" for everything from the English Reform Bill of 1867 to "the whole progress of democracy in the Western world. . . ." But the former is surely too little to justify the war just as certainly as the latter is too much to attribute to it. And if one is noting the international effect, what about the forces of unrestrained nationalism that were given support by the North's victory? The comparison of Lincoln to Bismarck is a familiar and revealing one.

As for the one comparison I did suggest (between the Northern position in the Civil War and recent American interventions), Mr. Sinsheimer has totally missed the point. The parallel to Lincoln, of course, is not Diem but Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, who under the banner of "self-determination" sponsored invasions of Cuba, Vietnam and the Dominican Republic because they disliked the manner in which those people were determining themselves.

* * *

As a friend of Elinor Wylie during her social isolation in Washington in 1920, I read with interest John Gordan's clarifying story in the Summer SCHOLAR ["A Legend Revisited: Elinor Wylie"].

At tea time Elinor would drop in on the Sinclair Lewises, sometimes bringing with her a poem which she would read us in her harsh, toneless, Philadelphia voice so at variance with her lovely words and discontented lovely face. One day it was "A Crowded Trolley Car"—about those disembodied heads and hands hanging from the car straps. "Bluebeard's wives, Dangle by the hair." I can see no other way the passengers in a trolley.

GRACE HEGGER LEWIS
Owls Head, Maine

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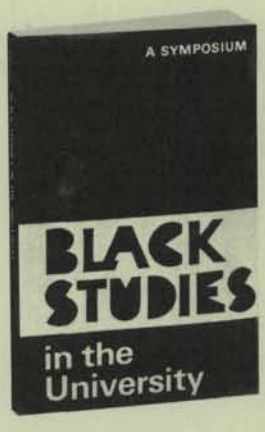

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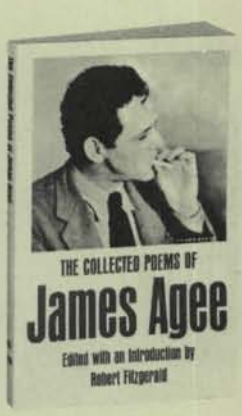

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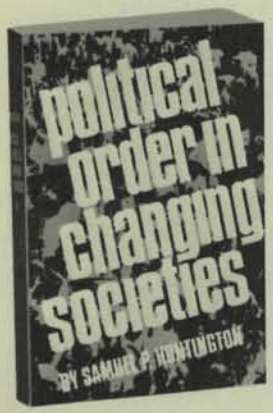

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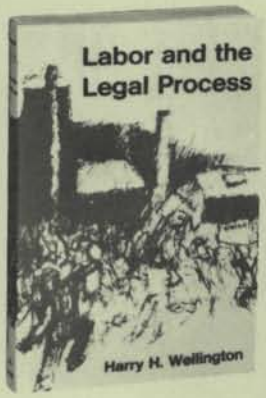

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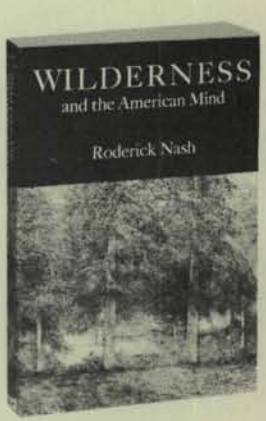

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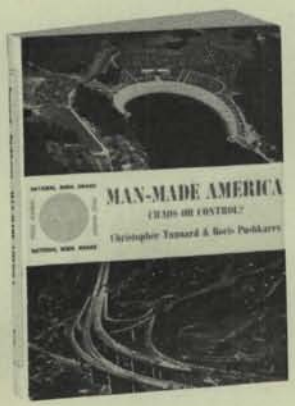

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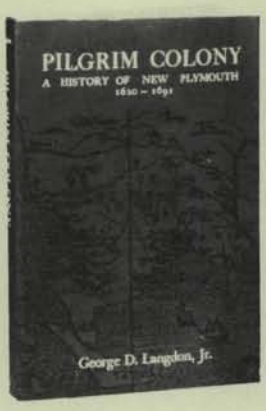

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